

# IN THESE TIMES

*Why we are in Lebanon*  
*Diana Johnstone*  
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## *NOW's new* **CLOUT**

*Democratic*

*hopefuls*

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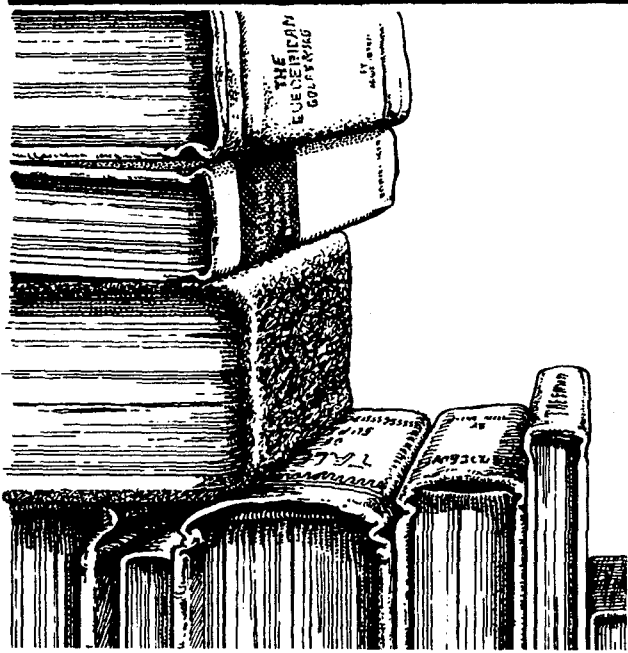
*feminist votes.*

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# THE INSIDE STORY



## Book biz censors

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

I have always resisted the knee-jerk view of socialism, which would nationalize everything from the local Greek restaurant to the TV networks. I have no objection to nationalizing the oil or automobile industry, but I fear, for instance, that a nationalized press and publishing industry would throttle free speech.

There are, however, very serious problems with the present system in the media and publishing industries. Two recent incidents illustrate the danger that private ownership and control can pose to freedom.

Last month, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit finally ruled on a decade-long case pitting author Gerald Colby Zilg against Prentice-Hall Inc. and E.I. DuPont de Nemours & Co. The judges' ruling bodes ill for political freedom in the publishing industry.

### Markets and Marxism.

In 1972, Zilg signed a contract with Prentice Hall to write a study of the DuPont family, to be entitled *DuPont: Behind the Nylon Curtain*. Zilg finished the book in November 1973 and his editor, Bram Cavin, accepted the manuscript on behalf of Prentice Hall. In March 1974, Prentice Hall editors decided on a first printing of 15,000 copies and an advertising budget of \$15,000. The book was also selected by the Fortune Book Club, a subsidiary of the Book of the Month Club.

It was scheduled for publication on Nov. 14, 1974, but in July the Public Affairs Department of the DuPont Co. obtained a copy. One DuPont executive called a manager of the Fortune Book Club and told her that the book had been read by several persons, including lawyers, and that it was "scurrilous" and "actionable." The DuPont executive also conveyed similar sentiments to the editor-in-chief of the Book of the Month Club and to the president of Prentice-Hall's trade book division. The DuPont executive claimed that he assured Prentice-Hall that DuPont did not plan to throw its weight around. But according to Prentice-Hall editor Cavin, a Book of the Month Club editor told him that DuPont had threatened to pull its advertising out of *Fortune* magazine.

In late July, after being contacted by DuPont, the Fortune Book Club decided not to offer Zilg's book. Immediately after the Fortune decision, Prentice-Hall reduced the initial run to 10,000 copies and cut the advertising budget to \$5,500.

Meanwhile, Zilg's book received favorable reviews from a wide variety of publications, including the *New York Times Book Review*. In the *Los Angeles Times*, Alden Whitman called it "a conscientious and significant book." It briefly made the bestseller list in Delaware. But Prentice-Hall delayed a second printing while orders were still coming in and let the book die a quiet death. Less than 10,000 copies were sold.

Zilg filed a \$5-million lawsuit against Prentice-Hall

and DuPont, claiming that Prentice-Hall had reneged on its obligation to promote the book and that DuPont had used coercive tactics to force Prentice-Hall to renege on its contractual obligations to him. In May 1982, Judge Charles Brieant of the District Court for the Southern District of New York absolved DuPont of blame, but found that Prentice-Hall had not made "its best efforts...to promote the book fully and fairly."

Brieant noted that Prentice-Hall had cut the first printing even though the Fortune Club would have printed its own copies—their sales had not been figured in the original estimates—and that Prentice-Hall had allowed the book to go out of stock just as it was gaining sales momentum. Estimating that the book would have sold 25,000 copies, Brieant awarded Zilg \$24,250.

Zilg appealed the DuPont ruling and Prentice-Hall appealed its ruling. On September 1, Judge Ralph K. Winter for the Court of Appeals threw out Zilg's appeal and reversed the ruling against Prentice-Hall.

Winter denied that DuPont had used coercive tactics. Refusing to accept Cavin's story, Winter said that DuPont's communications with Prentice-Hall and the Fortune Club were "socially beneficial because they promote the free flow of ideas." Winter sympathized with the Book Club's decision not to offer Zilg's book and Prentice-Hall's decision to reduce its publication.

Winter described the book's market appeal as limited by its approach. "It is not a work critical of business on grounds that reform of capitalism is necessary in order to save it, a viewpoint with mainstream appeal. Rather, it presents a Marxist view of history." Winter declared that the book "was an utterly inappropriate selection for the [Fortune Book] Club. Book clubs have a strong interest in avoiding the wrath of their members and such communications [as those from DuPont] further this interest."

Winter asserted that Prentice-Hall's decision to cut production and advertising of Zilg's book was justifiable because the Fortune Club's refusal to offer the book was a good indication of its marketability. "Those reductions, coming on the heels of BOMC's [Book of the Month Club] decision not to distribute the book, appear to be a rational reaction to that news."

Shorn of its middle terms, Winter's reasoning was as follows: if a book is not marketable, a publishing firm is under no obligation to market it. If DuPont does not like a book about itself, it is not marketable. Therefore, Prentice-Hall was under no obligation to market Zilg's book.

Zilg's editor Cavin, who is now retired, still believes that Zilg was wronged. Cavin recalls that after DuPont's communications, Prentice-Hall was "a very frightened company." He notes that the company could easily have used DuPont's attempts to kill the book as favorable publicity to build its sales, but chose instead to let the book expire.

### Souls and sales.

The second incident involves another large publishing firm, Dodd, Mead & Co., that was bought in April 1982 by Thomas Nelson, Inc., of Nashville, Tenn., the world's largest publisher of Bibles, with annual sales of \$40 million. Last month, Dodd, Mead announced that it would not publish two novels that had already been announced in its fall catalogue and that it was withdrawing from circulation a book of poems.

Earlier this year, the parent company, Nelson, had reviewed the three books and had demanded that swear words be excised from them, because to publish books

with such words would damage the firm's image as a Bible publisher. For instance, in *The Devil's Book of Verse: Masters of the Poison Pen from Ancient Times to the Present Day*, Nelson looked unfavorably upon an Ezra Pound parody of a Middle English poem:

Winter is icummen in,  
Lhade sing goddamm,  
Raineth drop and staineth slop,  
And how the wind doth ramm!  
Sing: goddamm!

Nelson asked the books editor, Geo senior editor Richard Coniff, to excise the second and fifth lines. Neither Coniff, nor William Murray and Albert F. Gillotti, the authors of the novels, agreed to make the changes demanded and their books were shelved.

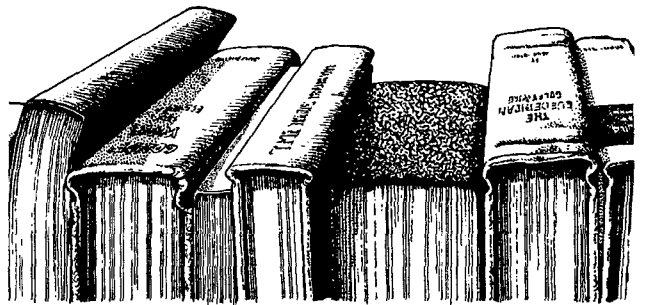
The president of Dodd, Mead & Co. told *Publisher's Weekly* that Nelson refused to print "certain words," "excessive savagery" and sexual matters "not within the nature of the book" or described in colloquial language. He admitted that "if a Mailer transcript were delivered, I'd have to reject it. But there would be no problem with a Michener." Gillenson said, "Thomas Nelson is in a difficult position. It has to maintain its reputation in an ultra-conservative world."

On one level, Nelson's decision may simply be another example of political or moral censorship. But as spokesman for the company and the aggrieved authors have made clear, Nelson was not really concerned with the moral or political content of the books, but rather with what the inclusion of certain words could do to its marketing image. As Coniff noted, they had not objected to a Hugh MacDiarmid verse, "The Christian Churches are all built up/ In utter defiance of all Christ taught." They were worried about sales and not souls.

According to Leonard Shatzkin, the author of *In Cold Type*, a study of the publishing industry, Nelson had originally planned to let Dodd, Mead & Co. go its own way. But after purchasing the secular company, it began to hear rumblings about its sincerity from book-sellers in the highly competitive religious books field. Shatzkin says that they then took action on the three Dodd, Mead books, motivated by "business concern" rather than "religious feeling."

In this sense, the Dodd, Mead/Nelson case and the Prentice-Hall/DuPont cases are very similar. Both are about the ability of larger corporations, whether they sell synthetic fibers or Bibles, to dictate what kind of art and what kind of ideas publishing houses market.

Albert Gillotti, the author of *Skim*, summed up the



Nelson case this way: "Thomas Nelson objects to some of the language in *Skim* because it might interfere with its Bible sales. When the accountants or salesmen who head conglomerates can tell an editor of a publishing subsidiary that he cannot accept [a book] for publication because the book might interfere with the stream of revenues from another part of his business—cigarettes, say, or food additives—then I fear for the future of independent thought in the U.S."

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## IN THESE TIMES

By David Moberg

HOLLYWOOD, FLA.

# Labor embarks on new era of activism

**I**N THE EYES OF MANY DELEGATES to the 15th biennial convention of the AFL-CIO, their first unified decision to endorse a candidate—any candidate—in the Democratic presidential primary was their really important accomplishment last week in this muggy resort center. But it was also comforting that the choice was former Vice-President Walter F. Mondale, a long-time favorite of many of them.

If the decision to seek political unity and to exercise influence in a coordinated mobilization of union members and leaders creates a new political activism, labor's influence on whoever holds the White House, on Congress and on state and local politics will ultimately deliver far more than Walter Mondale.

Since 1968 unions have felt frustrated politically. Divided at that time from many natural allies over the war in Vietnam, labor failed to win with its beloved Hubert Humphrey. Only a few liberal unions were willing to support George McGovern in the 1972 general election, and in subsequent primaries individual unions slugged it out with each other over different candidates, ending up with Jimmy Carter, who really pleased very few of them. (The AFL-CIO normally endorses a Democratic candidate in the general election, but has not before taken a position in the primaries.)

The AFL-CIO Executive Council responded enthusiastically a year and a half ago to President Lane Kirkland's proposal that the AFL-CIO make its own endorsement in the primary if two-thirds (weighted by membership) could agree. At that time it appeared that Sen. Edward Kennedy and Mondale, both with strong labor support, would be fighting for the nomination.

When Kennedy dropped out, the majority sentiment coalesced early behind Mondale. Sen. Alan Cranston made a determined bid, but despite his pro-labor record drew slim support and did not appear to be gaining popular strength. Sen. John Glenn at first did not take the labor endorsement seriously, then in tandem with a feeble campaign to undercut Mondale and to win support for himself, he actually drove more labor leaders into Mondale's camp by attacking the endorsement process. As a result, when the AFL-CIO General Board—all union presidents plus representatives of state and local labor bodies—finally voted, Mon-

dale won 92 percent of the vote and "no endorsement" outpolled Glenn (with no votes cast for any other candidate).

It was a major boost for Mondale, especially when linked with the simultaneous endorsement by the politically effective National Education Association. Unions have the means of mobilizing a hard-working cadre to run as delegates, work in state caucuses and turn out targeted voters. That makes labor potent even where unions are not popular, such as the South. This type of organizational strength, more important in primaries than in general elections, and even more influential in this year's more numerous caucuses, will be greatly increased now through the coordinated efforts of all unions working for a common candidate. The AFL-CIO is anticipating such a crush of union candidates for next year's Democratic convention that it will help arbitrate balance among unions if necessary.

The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) has developed state by state plans on what needs to be done, and its computerized list of more than 13 million members will help unions figure out who is registered or can be counted on to work or to vote. Marginally active unions may now find it easier to make a greater effort, and the major unions that have played important roles in past primaries all plan to increase their efforts. State and local labor bodies, often weak and neglected, will be given a new boost.

This year "the major difference is that we're all going in the same direction," Machinist Political Director William Holayter said. "It will make all of our jobs somewhat easier. We won't be fighting with each other. We welcome the opportunity to put together a program with all the other AFL-CIO unions. I think that's the major story, not the endorsement of Mondale."

Dick Wilson, associate director of COPE, predicted "a different labor movement because of this. You can't stir things up this much without some major changes." Labor is already making its power felt more among politicians, he said, and if the number of local leaders involved in politics, which he estimated at

15 percent, were tripled, labor's influence will grow. The AFL-CIO intends to keep tabs on the most active members, making it possible to mobilize them readily in the future.

## Jobs and justice.

At times the labor leaders seemed defensive about criticisms of their new role. The banner at the convention read "Labor's special interests—jobs and justice for all," a rejoinder to the discounting label some journalists and politicians are using for such major constituencies as labor, blacks and women. Although some polls show minimal influence and some negative reaction from a labor endorsement, most labor political activists dismissed the problem. They argued that it was not endorsement per se, but the work unions did with their members that was decisive and that the anti-labor reaction came mainly from already hostile voters.

But a few remain worried. Sheet Metal Workers President Edward Carlough argued for no endorsement to avoid "the danger of making ourselves the issue and not the record of the candidate."

But in his keynote address, Kirkland—a laid-back, sardonic version of John L. Lewis as a speaker, who makes repeated historical and literary allusions—observed, "If we do not do what we've proposed to do, we shall be reviled as toothless and irrelevant. If we succeed, we shall be condemned for daring to aspire to a share of power in our society. Given that choice of slurs, I assure you I much prefer the latter."

"The new wisdom about 'special interests,'" he said, "apparently means that working people, women, blacks, Hispanics, Jews, old people, young people, environmentalists and the poor should be excluded from the political dialog. As nearly as I can figure it out, that would leave only a handful of prosperous, middle-aged, white males to run the country as they see fit—and the model sounds suspiciously like Secretary James Watt."

But, ironically, the criticisms have served labor well. Wary of the charge that they were "labor bosses" who were out of touch with their members, numerous un-

ions polled their members, or at least surveyed reactions from their local leadership. While those polled tended to show more support for Glenn than was manifested in the General Board vote, Mondale still tended to win handily (two-to-one in a Service Employees' poll; Machinists slightly preferred Mondale but a stronger plurality saw him as the best opponent of Reagan).

Intense press scrutiny of labor's ability to deliver will also help spur political action, according to United Food and Commercial Workers Vice-President William J. Lowell. "Every union, every political director is charged up," he said. "In my union we'll have in place 600 newly trained political and legislative representatives in all locals." Lowell believes that Mondale will best be able to take advantage of Reagan's widespread negative images.

Mondale's biggest negative image with labor union members will be his association with Jimmy Carter, said Jerry Clark, director of political action for AFSCME (public workers). The New Right, he says, plans to hit Mondale hard with that theme, and "that will make the burden heavier."

But unions will try to associate Mondale with the sacred torch of tradition from Franklin Roosevelt through John Kennedy and Humphrey, Mondale's mentor. Many labor leaders appeared ready to take Mondale on faith as the bearer of that tradition and put few demands on him. But others expect a clear commitment to their program. "Mondale has to re-establish that he's a clear alternative to Reagan's policies and that his candidacy will revive—not necessarily old liberal policies—but revive the economy and help those segments who have been injured by Reagan," AFSCME Secretary-Treasurer William Lucy said. "I think along with the endorsement comes labor's program. If he carries one, he's got to carry the other."

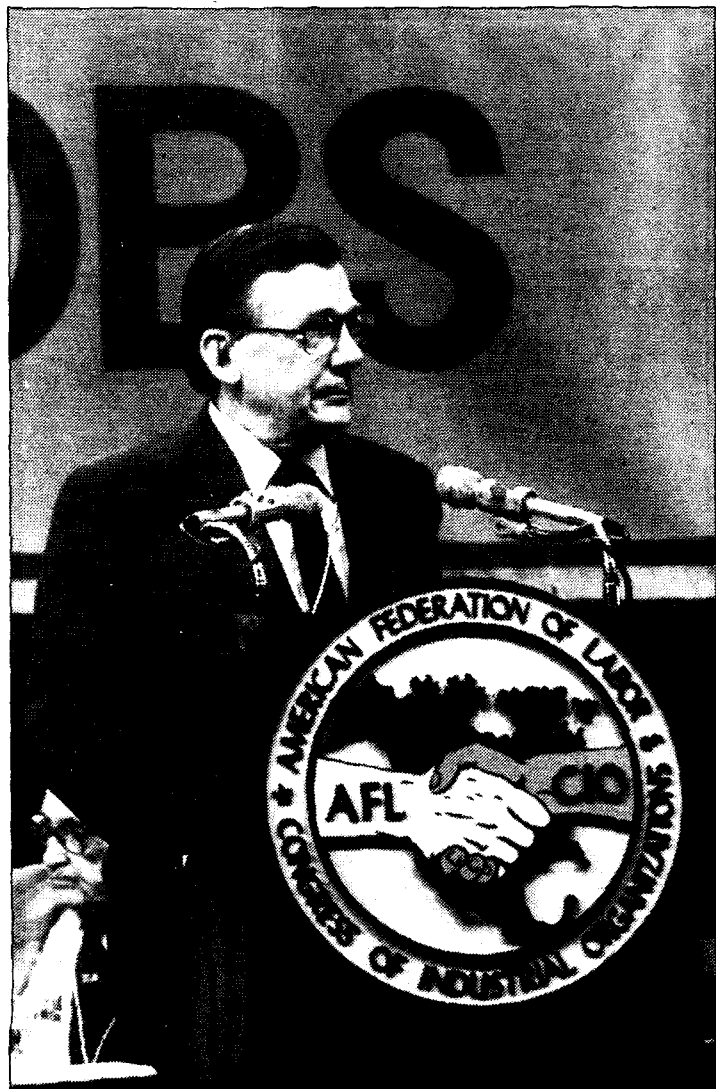
## New industrial policy.

The key thrust of the AFL-CIO program is the enactment of a new industrial policy. That includes a tripartite re-industrialization board supervising a national development bank that would use loans, loan guarantees, targeted tax incentives and other tools both to encourage new industry and to assist older ones to modernize. But along with it also go restraints on some imports, job training, public works jobs, broader social programs, tax reform, aid to the unemployed and the displaced and reduced interest rates.

Continued on page 6

Lane Kirkland (left) fields questions at the 15th biennial AFL-CIO convention.

Unions will try to associate Mondale with the sacred torch of tradition from FDR to JFK—not Jimmy Carter.





# IN SHORT

## Critical support for Israel

Unswerving support of the Israeli government has long stood alongside apple pie and motherhood as a crucial issue that only foolhardy U.S. office seekers would line up against. Yet a recent poll indicates that the Israel lobby may be losing control of their most effective bargaining chip—the allegiance of Jewish voters in the U.S. *The American Jewish Committee*—a mainline New York organization that publishes the neo-conservative organ *Commentary*—reports that while 90 percent of U.S. Jews still call themselves “pro-Israel,” many have serious doubts about Israeli policies. Forty-eight percent said they are often troubled by these policies, compared to 29 percent who weren’t. Fifty-one percent said Israel should suspend settlements on the West Bank, while only 28 percent disagreed. And a whopping 70 percent feel Israel should negotiate with the PLO under certain conditions while 17 percent opposed such talks.

## Pocketbook pacifists

Last April Joseph and Barbara Jenson of Baltimore included a personal appeal with the 1982 federal tax return that said their religious convictions preventing them from contributing the portion of their taxes they calculated would go toward the U.S. military. So imagine their surprise when the Jensons, who say they are Roman Catholic pacifists, received a refund check last month for \$4,741 from the Internal Revenue Service—which included the amount they claimed as a credit plus \$202 in interest. By making their tax return public, the Jensons risk an audit. But, they wrote in their appeal to the IRS, “The penalty is a small price to pay for the privilege of following and obeying God who gives life and peace.” An IRS spokesman said it is likely that the agency will investigate the Jenson’s refund in the future. The Jenson’s, however, consider the case closed. They’ve already donated most of the money to a Catholic Church program for world peace and justice and to a religious center.

## Willing to take the Risk

Last April when the National Commission on Excellence in Education released its report, *A Nation at Risk*, President Reagan praised its findings, saying that they echoed his own beliefs. The Commission report made clear that while action at the local level is essential to improving the nation’s schools, the federal government must remain committed to protecting certain target groups of students, namely “the gifted and talented, the socioeconomically disadvantaged, minority and language minority students, and the handicapped.” If these echo Reagan’s conclusions, he’d have a hard time proving it. His right-wing appointees who occupy key positions in the Department of Education have done all in their power—which is considerable—to destroy the programs that aid just those target groups. *Common Cause Magazine* reports that since 1980, programs in bilingual education have been cut by 28 percent; with another 32 percent slated for 1984. Substantial cuts in funding for the handicapped, and calls for the elimination of programs addressing women’s educational equity, Indian education and civil rights training and assistance centers have been made in recent months, leading one to question how far the current administration’s commitment to “excellence in education” goes.

## A piece of cake

Attempting to counteract rampant cutbacks in funding for social programs, a coalition of concerned citizens took its inspiration from the implicit attitude of the Reagan administration when planning the first national “Let Them Eat Cake” sale. On October 3, local groups in 100 U.S. communities set up stands in shopping malls, public parks, civic center plazas and on street corners that featured such appropriate delicacies as Reaganomics fortune cookies, fund raisin bread and trickle-down layer cake, its green frosting never reaching the bottom layer. In many cities, such carnival games as the “Help James Watt Put His Foot in His Mouth” shoe toss games ran beside the bake sales. The national event, conceived by Washington lawyer Ira Nerken, varied in its focus between fundraising and consciousness-raising, according to local planners’ discretion. In Eugene, Ore., Grateful Dead band members auctioned off their creation, a “Grateful to be Alive” cake, while in Paterson, N.J., using another strategy, organizers set up booths outside a health center and a welfare office, giving free cake and coffee to anyone who registered to vote. Numerous politicians did not fail to get their fingers in the cake, with such names as Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.), Rep. Robert Kastenmeier (D-Wis.) and St. Paul, Minn., Mayor George Latimer vending their concoctions alongside those of their constituents.



Diana Johnstone

## Scrapping some bombs is NATO ‘goodwill’ ploy

GENEVA—As usual, American officials ignored the women who formed a “peace chain” last month between the Soviet and U.S. delegations in Geneva to express their desire for agreement that would prevent deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles. The women had come to Geneva on a month-long march from West Berlin. Welcomed by the Swiss Peace Committee and joined by women and men from other deployment countries, as well as from Spain, Sweden and North America, they held a loose “alternative disarmament conference” of their own September 18.

The women, who were diverse in their lifestyles and attitudes, seemed to share an unbridgeable distance from power and a readiness to make up for this helplessness with determination.

This was most strikingly illustrated by Andrea Elukovich, the San Francisco woman who chose to end her 43-day “Fast for Life” at the conference. Speaking in Geneva of the need to get in touch with a “higher power” in order to find the strength for the mighty task of “saving the world from impending destruction,” she recommended fasting as a way to achieve this, and suggested that people fast once a week and give the money saved to help feed the poor.

Since most of the peace movement was uneasy, or downright hostile, about the “Fast for Life” as a form of action, people were happy to see it end without tragedy. The fasters explained that the risk to their own lives only illustrated the risk to all our lives if the Pershing II and Cruise missiles are deployed. Their action also illustrated poignantly the physical weakness they were trying to overcome by moral strength and sheer will power.

At the women’s conference, Christa Randzio Plath, vice president of Socialist International Women from the German Social Democratic Party, proposed a political objective: the interna-

tional women’s peace movement should work to get representatives (not just some “token woman”) into the governments of their respective countries as cabinet ministers for disarmament. They would work for the real thing, instead of the sort of negotiations that so far have only “controlled more and more arm-

ament.” The women attending the meeting did not try to resolve the great diversity of expectation within the peace movement as to the outcome of the Geneva talks on “intermediate range nuclear forces” (INF). Many still seem to be expecting an agreement that will stop deployment of the NATO missiles, and are actually



Women peace marchers in Geneva

wondering how the movement can digest such a victory.

Others are wondering how it can digest the defeat when deployment occurs at the end of the year. And still others worry about an “interim solution” that would allow partial deployment and seem to give the peace movement a partial victory, yet perhaps dividing and silencing it.

In and out of the peace movement, there seems little awareness of the Reagan administration’s determination to go ahead with deployment as part of a precise and firm shift in NATO strategy. Many people still seem to think that all that is behind the arms race is “superpower pride,” which can be assuaged by face-

Andrea Elukovich ended her publicized anti-arms fast at a peace rally in Geneva.

saving devices or public opinion.

NATO is getting ready to announce the retirement of 1,000 “tactical” nuclear weapons in its psychological war against the peace movement. This scrapping of short-range nuclear weapons is in fact part of the NATO “double decision” of December 1979. It fits in with a strategic shift of the battlefield from Western to Eastern Europe. With the transition by NATO from a defensive to an offensive posture, NATO will no longer prepare to repulse attack at the German-German border, but to carry the war into Eastern Europe.

This new strategy is known as the “Rogers doctrine,” after NATO supreme commander U.S. Gen. Bernard Rogers, or “Air-

land battle.” Tactical nuclear weapons are too short range to fit into this posture. That is why they will be scrapped. Yet NATO is getting ready to sell this move as a great “unilateral nuclear disarmament” gesture. This “good-will” gesture is likely to pay off, especially since around the same time the Russians, if they live up to their threats, will be increasing their nuclear arsenal in Eastern Europe precisely in order to counter the new NATO strategy and make sure that the nuclear battlefield will be located in Western Europe. This will give American and NATO propagandists a new bonanza in pointing to the Soviet threat.

—Diana Johnstone



By Joan Walsh

WASHINGTON

**U**.S. REP. KATIE HALL (D-IND.) stood before a portrait of General Dwight Eisenhower in the Washington Hilton Military Room, sharing electoral strategies with a standing-room-only crowd of would-be women candidates and campaigners at the annual National Organization for Women (NOW) conference the first weekend in October. Eisenhower, for the record, was the first American president to inspire a notable (if not then named) electoral gender gap—he won the presidency with 6 percent more support from women than men—but this year it's unlikely the general himself could swing a female voting majority back to the Republicans.

Declaring the defeat of Ronald Reagan in 1984 its first priority, NOW announced at the conference its intent to endorse a Democratic primary candidate before the end of the year, the first such endorsement in its 16-year history. In response, the six major Democratic contenders who addressed the convention pledged their support to virtually every item on the 250,000-member group's agenda, from the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and pay equity to—theoretically, at least—selection of a female vice president.

The NOW-Democratic alliance is a relationship born of mutual need. Women need to see Reagan defeated, and the Democrats need their votes to do it.

"We can't win without you," Walter Mondale told the 2,000 conference delegates, and his rivals obviously agreed.

But even as the endorsement decision was making headlines, NOW was beginning to deal with its implications: how to maintain its organizational integrity, keep attention focused on its issues and avoid being Democratic hostages while playing anyone-but-Reagan politics.

The weekend was an unequivocal success for a group that just 15 months ago suffered a stinging setback in the defeat of the ERA. In some ways, though, the unsuccessful ERA campaign put NOW in its current strong political position. Having made ERA passage its top goal, the group almost immediately added electoral work to its lobbying, learning quickly that the only way to move confirmed anti-ERA legislators was to vote them out. That nationwide ERA network outlived the amendment and played an important role in the November 1982 elections. NOW's unsuccessful Florida ERA machine wound up helping to double the number of women in the state House. In non-ERA Illinois, enough NOW-backed state legislators were elected to have passed the amendment had it not expired. In congressional and gubernatorial races all over the country, NOW's work was credited with widening the gender gap for the Democrats.

The convergence of NOW's growing electoral clout and Reagan's plummeting approval rating among women made it inevitable that the group would try to

channel that anti-Reagan vote with a presidential endorsement. And with Democrats anxious to harness the organized women's vote—they trooped to San Antonio in July for a convention of the bipartisan but anti-Reagan National Women's Political Caucus—there was never any doubt that the major candidates would trip over each other on the way to the NOW conference. But for all its amity, the weekend also showed that most of the Democrats, despite the standing ovations and mutual admiration at the Washington Hilton, have a lot to learn about feminist politics, and that NOW has to learn how to teach them.

### Democrats' designs.

It's unfortunate how apt the whole catalogue of traditional mating metaphors are for describing male Democrats' designs on the women's vote this season. "So you'd say Gary Hart has satisfied you," a woman reporter asked coyly after NOW President Judy Goldsmith praised a recent Hart speech at a press conference.

But courting is the obvious word to describe the Democrats' approach to NOW. The six who spoke pledged devotion to the organization and commitment to its goals. There were notable differences among them, however, and the contrasts point up differing analyses of the gender gap and NOW's role in it.

All six speeches included ringing endorsements of women's rights, denunciations of the Reagan administration's transgressions and a commitment to better stands on women's issues, social spending and defense programs. But the proportions of each rhetorical ingredient differed significantly. Frontrunner Mondale, who had just won AFL-CIO back-

## Losing the ERA fight gave NOW power, by teaching electoral strategy.

ing and a Maine straw vote, is considered the favorite for NOW's endorsement. He moved into his speech by declaring, "I am a feminist," and blended a heavy emphasis on ERA, reproductive rights and pay equity with commitments to "halt the feminization of poverty, bring the gunboats home from Central America and push the nuclear freeze"—issues the pollsters say are widening the gender gap.

Alan Cranston and George McGovern, on the other hand, relied too heavily on the economic and foreign policy explanations for women's aversion to Reagan. Cranston was hissed when he called the prevention of nuclear war "the most important women's issue." (And he didn't help his cause by kissing Goldsmith as he left the podium. You could hear women thinking, "He wouldn't do that to Lane Kirkland.")

McGovern delivered a forceful nine-point summary of his presidential priorities that set him admirably apart from

## WOMEN

# Gender gap gives NOW new power

the pack on most issues, but unexpectedly he saved his women's agenda for last. Later, an eloquent account of how his liberal stands on women's issues cost him his South Dakota Senate seat in 1980 was wasted on reporters in a post-conference press briefing.

The standouts were Gary Hart and John Glenn. (Ernest Hollings, with a spotty women's record, was invited and attended mostly out of courtesy; anti-choice Reuben Askew wasn't asked.) Hart got it all right. With an eye to the NOW conference, he had addressed Americans for Democratic Action the previous weekend and told them women's rights had to top the party's agenda. And he repeated that pledge before the NOW audience. He got the biggest hand of the day by remarking he would be "proud to run with a woman—on either end of the ticket." With the best record on women's issues of all the candidates, Hart's only hope for major organizational support rests with NOW. Although Mondale's electability will likely outweigh the Coloradoan's slightly better positions, Hart's conference performance only helped his cause.

Glenn's speech was the big surprise, for better and worse. He appeared most astute about what NOW wanted to hear, stressing his women's rights record, support for women candidates, his commitment to restoring cuts in social programs for women despite his fiscally conservative background. He even quoted Elizabeth Cady Stanton: "To men, their rights and nothing more; to women, their rights and nothing less."

But he flubbed his splashdown. In response to a closing question about why the ERA failed, he responded with a "challenge," telling the crowd, "We all loafed a little bit on the ERA.... The other side outthusted us."

"Maybe you did, buddy," women shouted angrily in response. And at a reception immediately following his speech, one woman after another on the receiving line chided Glenn for his criticism. Betty Friedan grabbed his hand firmly and advised him, "Maybe you didn't work hard enough, but we did."

Glenn nervously assured her he meant "we, the Democratic leadership" and immediately put out a press release to that effect.

Glenn's blunder was the most graphic evidence that the Democratic candidates are going to have to size up their female constituency more carefully. "He may not have understood how many of us gave up time for the ERA," Goldsmith said later. The flap served notice to the Democrats that while the pollsters may

find Reagan's economic and military politics more relevant to the gender gap than women's issues, NOW members and their political action committees (PACs) do not.

### Running women.

Although the visits by NOW's male presidential suitors grabbed most of the headlines, more conference time was actually spent discussing women's candidacies, from local offices to the vice-presidency. NOW is developing into a quasi-women's party of late, taking the lead in finding, grooming and supporting women candidates around the country. At workshops and issues hearings the focus was electoral action.

Each conference room had a table with cards where women who had campaign experience could sign up and make themselves available to feminist candidates around the country. NOW's new toll-free number for would-be women candidates—800-ERA-1984—was publicized at every session, and longtime NOW activist Molly Yard hawked the Women's Political Education Fund's comprehensive *Campaign Workbook* throughout the weekend.

Women candidates in key congressional races got a lot of attention. A special PAC event (speeches and hat-passing) at a Saturday plenary session raised \$62,000 for Oregon state senators Ruth McFarland and Margie Hendrikson, running for House and Senate respectively, Colorado Lieutenant Governor and Senate candidate Nancy Dick, U.S. House of Representatives candidate from New Hampshire Dudley Dudley and Minnesota Senate candidate Joan Grove and others. NOW also announced plans to participate in a Harris Associates congressional poll, trading thousands of hours of volunteer polling time from its members for information about close races involving women. Identifying elections where women are down a few percentage points—like Harriet Woods' one-point Senate loss in Missouri last November—will allow NOW, its PACs and volunteers to come in for a last-minute push.

But the priority was placing a woman vice-president on the Democratic Party's political agenda. Former NOW president Eleanor Smeal drafted a resolution that the NOW/PAC will "advocate" a feminist woman candidate for vice-president and "will not accept" a male candidate who balances the presidential ticket by a weak commitment or opposition to women's rights. Given that NOW plans to endorse long before the party nominee is chosen or selects his running mate, the

*Continued on following page*





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resolution is mostly advisory. What would happen if a NOW-endorsed candidate chose an unacceptable vice-president is unclear.

Even so, the resolution seemed a little aggressive to some delegates, including Betty Friedan, who worried that it could restrict the group's all-out campaign to defeat Reagan should the Democratic vice-presidential nominee be less than stellar on NOW's issues.

"We're not marrying ourselves to it," Smeal responded. "But if we don't take it seriously, who would?"

Alice Cohan described it as "upping the ante. We're telling them the gender gap is there to defeat Reagan, but only if they take women's rights seriously." Picking a female running mate, Cohan said, is one way to prove that.

Another way is pushing harder for the ERA, which despite NOW's electoral concentration has not become just an abandoned stepchild of the organization. NOW hired Smeal to steer the amendment through congressional hearings after it was reintroduced last year, and in her ERA update workshop she castigated the Democratic leadership for abandoning it to Sen. Orrin Hatch's committee, where pro-ERA witnesses and experts are badgered at interminable hearings on the 11-year-old amendment's implications.

"The Democrats wanted to make this their number one national priority when they reintroduced it, to show their commitment to equal rights," Smeal commented. "Now they're not showing up at hearings." Even some of the bill's co-sponsors are suggesting that ERA backers may have to accept amendments to the bill—limiting its impact on abortion rights or insurance discrimination, for example—in order to get it passed. (Smeal described but declined to name a prominent Senate Democrat and ERA co-sponsor who had to be talked out of accepting amendments to the bill, but Massachusetts delegates weren't shy about publicizing that the almost apostate was Paul

Tsongas.

In its final plenary session, NOW's first resolution called for Congress to vote on the ERA before the 1984 elections so voters know how their representatives stand on the bill. Other measures adopted supported AIDS research funding, stronger abortion rights lobbying, pay equity, an expanded minority women's project, widening the work of Women's Truth Squad on Reagan and opposing MX and Euro-missile deployment.

### Marriage of convenience.

One of the more controversial resolutions put NOW on record opposing third party candidacies for president in 1984, as long as Ronald Reagan is the Republican nominee. In the issues hearing where the draft resolution was debated, a small but vocal minority—including one delegate who identified herself as a Democratic precinct worker—argued that the resolution tied NOW too closely to the Democratic Party.

But the resolution only underlined NOW's commitment to big league electoral politics, even if at the same time the group has been deliberately lining up with coalitions of left-liberals, minority groups and economic justice lobbies opposed to Reagan. Goldsmith was prominent among the convenors of the August 27 March on Washington, for example, and conference plenary speaker Coretta Scott King praised NOW's concern for minorities and poor women. Its marriage to the Democrats in 1984 appears final, although the group has no time for a honeymoon.

Some of its problems are shared by every left-of-center group that has made Reagan's defeat a priority: NOW has to balance a candidate's electability against his stands on the issues. That likely means Mondale over Hart or McGovern, but given a recent Gallup poll showing Glenn stronger than Mondale when run against Reagan (among women as well as men), electability could force the group to the centrist Glenn. And while serious, not merely ideological politics requires atten-

tion to a candidate's chances to win, pragmatism can be painful. Argues George McGovern, with understandable self-interest: "It's a mistake for organizations that try to get public officials to take courageous positions on their issues to jump too soon for someone timid, someone who's only halfway there."

Like other organized women's political groups, NOW has to work to get as much as it can for women in exchange for delivering their votes. Organizing for a woman vice president, which is expected to gain the active support of other major women's groups in coming months, could be a step toward a stronger bargaining position.

But as the foremost women's rights lobby, NOW faces a singular hitch in its electoral strategy. Its political clout strengthened by the gender gap, the group has to be careful that its goals don't fall into it, to be lost among the concerns about foreign policy and economics that may appear more important than women's issues in defining a woman's vote. That gender gap analysis can allow Democrats to throw women—including NOW—into their grab-bag, anti-Reagan constituency. And for women who remember that Jimmy Carter allowed the first congressional restrictions on Medicaid-funded abortions or that Democrats controlled the legislatures in most non-ERA states, that's not a happy prospect.

But NOW members "know what they are doing," Eleanor Smeal told *In These Times*. "Those women identify themselves as feminists, not Democrats. They don't think of it as endorsing a Democrat, they're endorsing an opponent of Reagan—the [endorsement] resolution didn't even mention the Democratic Party."

However the endorsement goes, Smeal isn't worried about women getting lost in the campaign shuffle. "They aren't going to take us for granted. Those were the strongest speeches they ever made—I can't imagine hearing them four years ago. We worry them."

# AFL-CIO

Continued from page 3

From the floor several union leaders sharply attacked reliance on the free market—"a left-over from the 18th or 19th century that has little relevance today," said Howard Samuel, president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department. UAW President Owen Bieber told delegates that the central issue is: "are we going to leave key decisions over our economy to corporations and individual policymakers in foreign countries or are we going to exercise a measure of control over our own fate as the working backbone of this country?"

Although few went so far, California state AFL-CIO President John Henning suggested that with the endorsement, labor was freeing itself of "the leg-irons of the past. We are free to walk where we want to walk. We choose to walk now in the party of Jefferson. But if that party ever betrays the principles of working people, then we will walk wherever we damn well please."

Remote though that prospect now seems, the primary endorsement mobilization is a step toward a greater political independence for labor and toward the creation of a stronger coalition that could transform the Democratic Party—or walk on its own.

At the moment, even many union leaders are motivated most by the burning need to defeat Reagan and the right in Congress or by what one Minnesota Machinist called his members' "quiet resolve" to work hard rather than by any passion for Mondale.

How much of the enthusiasm needed to bring in the disenchanted voters can be generated depends in part on Mondale's ability to match a vision and program to the frustration and anger in labor's ranks. For Teachers Union President Albert Shanker that means Mondale must be willing to go beyond the expected pledge of more money for education and talk about quality—controlling crime in schools, setting standards and conveying basic civic moral values. For all, it means a program for full employment.

Mondale urged the cheering crowd to join him in "a great national campaign to rebuild America." He pledged to cut deficits, to pursue an aggressive trade policy, to invest in education and public infrastructure, to persuade business and labor to work together and to use government to promote fairness.

"There is no reason on earth for America to fear the future," Mondale claimed. "We have everything we need except a leader, and I will be that leader."

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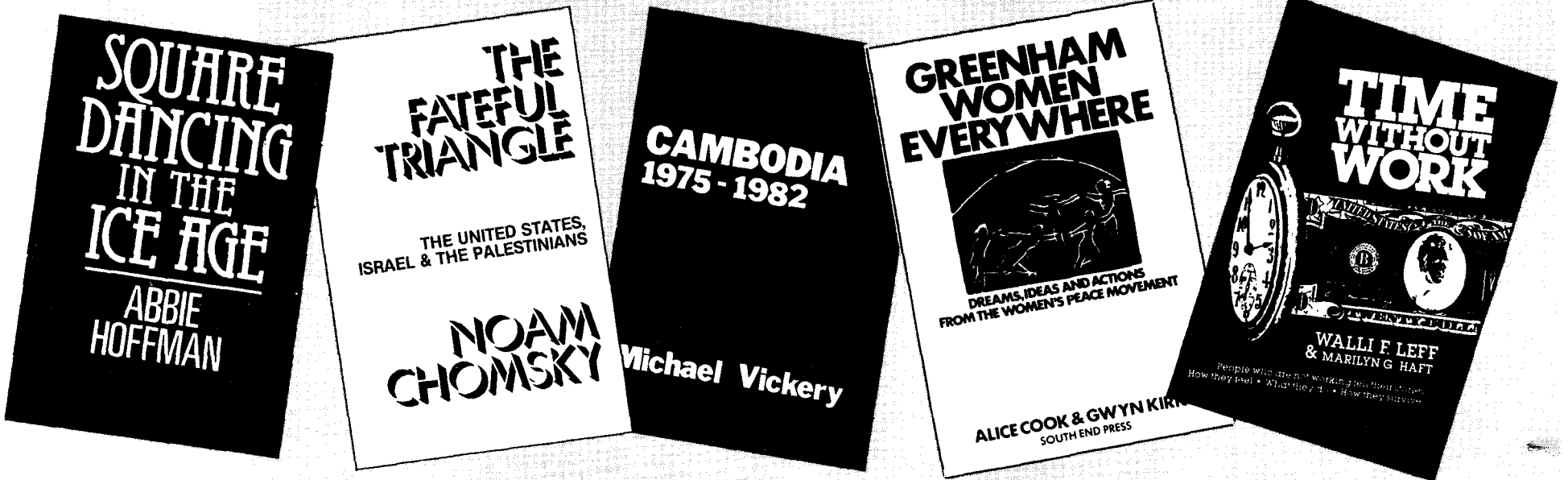
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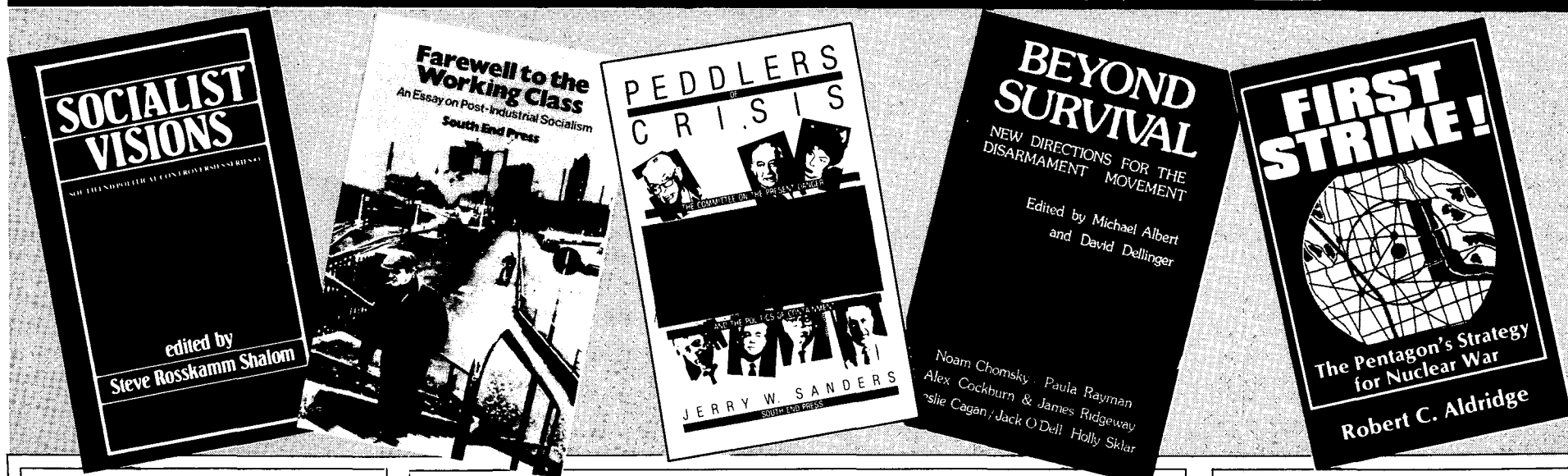


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By Diana Johnstone

**W**HAT IS THE U.S. DOING IN Lebanon? Only one explanation fits the known facts, but the mainstream media will not touch it with a 10-foot pole.

The germ of this explanation appeared in *In These Times* more than three years ago in my story on the exiled Lebanese Christian leader Raymond Edde (*In These Times*, May 14, 1980). For years, Edde had been warning, "We are faced with an American plan aiming at Lebanon's partition, which sooner or later will lead to the breakup of Syria. The objective is to create a number of religious states alongside Israel, small buffer states to contribute to the security of the Jewish state."

Edde is not some crazy radical fanatic. He is from a solid Christian banking family, and his father Emile Edde was a founder of the Lebanese republic and one of its early presidents. He was the main non-fascist Christian leader in Lebanon before being forced into exile in 1977.

The American plan to partition Lebanon is believed to have been the fruit of Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy" in the Mideast in the early '70s. Edde said he called it a plan, "although, of course, a plan like that isn't carried out with precision—lots of unexpected things happen."

Despite all the unexpected developments and the surface confusion, all major events in Lebanon have fit uncannily into the general outlines of the "Kissinger plan." The idea was to dissect Lebanon into geographically based political units corresponding to its major religious communities. This was deemed favorable to Israel because it would make religiously based states the rule rather than the exception and remove the dangers of Arab nationalism or of political movements transcending ethnic barriers. Of course, Israel would be the strongest of such religiously based states, or semi-states.

The first step in breaking up Lebanon was to get the Maronite Christians—the dominant group—to create their own Christian state. According to former Israeli Prime Minister Moshe Sharett's diaries (*In These Times*, Aug. 11, 1982), Israeli leader David Ben Gurion called creation of a Maronite Christian state "the central duty, or at least one of the central duties, of our foreign policy."

"In normal times this would be almost impossible," Ben Gurion wrote to Sharett in February, 1954. "But in times of confusion, or revolution or civil war, things take on another aspect."

It is generally admitted that throughout the '70s Israel helped arm and train the Phalange militia commanded by the Maronite Christian Gemayel family. By its relentless drive for domination, the Phalange was the force that kept the civil war going when others would have settled for some type of compromise.

When Israel invaded Lebanon last year, it assured military control of Beirut to the Phalange, which had been unable to prevail on its own. It also led Phalange forces into the Suuf mountains, the traditional Druze stronghold, where they could never have penetrated on their own. Finally, it was under Israeli military occupation that Bashir, and, when he was assassinated, his brother Amin Gemayel, were elected president of the republic.

At the time the Western media, echoing official and "authoritative" sources, hailed Amin Gemayel as the "strong man" who could finally put Lebanon back together again. Now the media, primed by the same official and "authoritative" sources, have discovered that Gemayel is not up to the job. The Israelis, having gotten their security agreement with Gemayel's state as well as securing control of the long-coveted land south of the Litani river, withdrew from Beirut and the Suuf mountain areas of Lebanon, muttering loudly that Lebanon was a hopeless mess.

#### The real answer.

The semi-official media version is that the naive and idealistic Americans—led by naive and idealistic Ronald Reagan—haven't caught on as quickly as the smart-

er Israelis and are still trying to help good President Gemayel establish his authority over all of Lebanon. Besides, they have to combat the Druze and the Syrians, who are armed by the Russians and thus are "Russian surrogates" incited by Moscow to destabilize Lebanon, perhaps to get even for deployment of Pershing II missiles. Western newspapers are full of this kind of "analysis," kindly provided over dinner tables by "official sources."

Now, wait a minute. If the Druze are Russian-prompted troublemakers, why are they being armed and supported by Israel? Quick answer: if step number one in the partition of Lebanon was creation of a Maronite Christian enclave state, step number two is creation of a Druze enclave state.

The September 18 international edition

Now that early Druze successes have "aborted any chance of a settlement based on strong government control over the Suuf," Sharon believes the likely outcome will be "a form of cantonization."

All this is indeed predictable. The Israeli-armed Phalange could never reasonably be expected to unite war-torn Lebanon, precisely because it was the most intolerantly sectarian group of all. The Israeli leaders sized up the Phalange leaders for what they were: arrogant but stupid brutes, who could be manipulated into pursuing ambitions beyond their reach, thus breaking up their own country.

Israel has always been holding its Druze card to play when the time comes. The 60,000 Druze in Israel are the only non-Jewish community who must serve in the Israeli armed forces, which gives them

## LEBANON

# Is there more to the U.S. presence than meets the eye?



Exiled Christian leader Raymond Edde believes the U.S. goal in Lebanon is to divide the nation into weak religious states.

of the *Jerusalem Post* carried a front-page story titled "Why the Druze are formidable." It was based on staffer Roy Isacowitz's interview with Professor Moshe Sharon, chairman of the department of history of the Islamic people at the Hebrew University and former adviser to Menachem Begin. Sharon said the stiff Druze resistance to Phalange presence in the Suuf mountains was entirely predictable.

"Moshe Sharon, who spent four months in Lebanon last year in an official capacity and speaks with the familiarity of an insider, is scornful of the Maronites," according to the article. "He lampoons their bravado and their machismo. He describes them as being eager to fight when it is not their blood that is being spilled."

"His attitude appears to reflect the change of Israeli policy in recent months," the article continues. "Israel's dependence on, and confidence in, the Maronites prior to last year's invasion, but says that, with hindsight, that confidence was misplaced.... Sharon has a great respect for the Druze and their abilities. He describes them as 'quiet but warlike, and very courageous.' In this he appears to mirror the even-handed approach that observers say now characterizes Israeli policy in Lebanon. The Maronites are no longer 'natural allies.' Israel's interests come first."

privileges denied Israel's Islamic citizens. This is in line with Israel's policy of favoring non-Arab or non-Islamic minorities in the region.

By letting the Phalange into the Druze Suuf, Israel aroused predictable reaction of Druze solidarity. "They strutted around in their fatigues, brandishing Kalachnikovs, smelling of the latest French after-shave," Sharon said of the Phalangists in the Suuf.

The Druze "communal identity," he added, guarantees the involvement of Israeli and Syrian Druze. The Israeli expert "likens their communal link to that which binds Jews throughout the world. The Israeli Druze, many of them members of the IDF (Israeli Defense Forces), who have requested permission to fight alongside the Lebanese Druze are similar to the Diaspora Jewish veterans who volunteered to fight in Israel's War of Independence," the *Jerusalem Post* said.

The French weekly *VSD* reported on September 15 that "an extraordinary secret complicity" has been established between Israelis and Druze. "In the long term, Jerusalem favors an autonomous Druze state in the Suuf. When the progressive Marxist Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Druze militia, joins the Syrian camp, the Israelis...continue to bet on the Druze."

"And we always will," a high Israeli official told *VSD*. "Because, in the

long term, the Druze will get rid of Syrian sponsorship. They are too independent to put up with taking orders from the Syrians or the Palestinians. And we have clearly let them understand they can count on us."

"Druze officers from the Israeli Army have been given leave to go to the Suuf to fight alongside their brothers," *VSD* continued. "But perhaps also to provide the military command the Druze still lack." These Druze officers from the Israeli Army would be capable one day of leading the Druze community not only in Lebanon but also in Syria.

"Israel's idea," Ramond Edde said in the 1980 interview, "is to divide up Syria between an Alouite state, the minority President Assad belongs to, with 10 percent of the population, a Sunni Moslem state and a Druze state."

Walid Jumblatt has repeatedly rejected the partition of Lebanon and creation of a Druze mini-state. But he may see no choice. Walid inherited two hats from his charismatic father Kamal Jumblatt: head of the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) and hereditary spiritual leader of the Druze community.

In his PSP hat, he has joined the Socialist International and appealed to Western democracies. Result: zero. The Western democracies, the U.S., Britain, France and Italy—the last two with fellow members of the Socialist International as both president and prime minister—have even sent armed forces to back the Phalange in its efforts to transform itself

into the official Lebanese army and wipe out the PSP. The effort to lead the Druze, and the Lebanese, toward more modern, secular Western-style democratic politics has been given no encouragement.

In his traditional, semi-feudal Druze hereditary leader hat, however, Walid Jumblatt has been signaled that he may be allowed to survive, along with his people. Sharon said that although Jumblatt had aroused deep opposition within the community, he was the only available Druze leader "with a credible political and military base."

So, once again, what is the U.S.—along with its French, Italian and British allies—doing in Lebanon?

There is a simple, obvious answer: propping up Amin Gemayel's control of his Beirut enclave during the difficult period when it is being abandoned by its Israeli protectors. Otherwise, the Druze successes in the Suuf might snowball into a general anti-Phalange uprising of Moslems and progressives that could actually re-unite Lebanon.

Thus the U.S. is doing exactly the opposite of what it says it is doing in Lebanon. It says it is there to support the country's legitimate president Amin Gemayel who represents the last hope of uniting and saving Lebanon. In fact, by saving the Gemayel enclave, the U.S. is

Continued on page 15



# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## AFSCME ON KING

A few unions in Boston to endorse black mayoral candidate Mel King, we take exception to a number of claims made by Peter Dreier (*ITT*, Sept. 7). But it is Dreier's ignorant assertion about our union—AFSCME Local 1489/Boston City Hospital Employees—that prompts this response.

Dreier believes the central issue in Boston's mayoral race is "who can best heal Boston's economic, racial and social wounds?"—to which his answer is Ray Flynn. To reach that conclusion, one has to concoct a fantasy of "surprising strength" for Flynn in Boston's minority communities.

Support for Mel King in the black community is overwhelming, with the latest TV poll putting black voter support for King at 75 percent and growing. And the sad fact is: conservative candidate David Finnegan, the other front-runner, has mustered more support among blacks than Flynn has. Boston's liberal daily, *The Boston Globe*, for example, in its recent poll lists the mayoral preferences of black voters—King with 63 percent, Finnegan with 10 percent, with Larry DiCara and Ray Flynn each getting 4 percent and 12 percent undecided.

Polls aside, anyone in touch with the black community will tell you that claims of strong Flynn support there are absurd.

We must admit, making a decision on a mayoral endorsement was a difficult one for us. Flynn, in recent years, has been one of the most supportive politicians in town for Boston City Hospital (BCH) and its employees in our battles against political cronyism, Proposition-13-style and city hall inspired cutbacks.

But Mel King's support for Boston's only public hospital goes back a very long time. Our union has publicly acknowledged and applauded both King's and Flynn's support. Yet when we polled our membership, we found, surpris-

ingly, it was two to one for King over Flynn. All of Flynn's support for BCH didn't convince our black members that Boston would be brought together racially by Flynn's leadership in city hall.

Were Mel King not in this race, a number of us would be inclined to support Flynn. If that were the case, we would still have to contend with a black membership distrustful of Flynn.

It appears Dreier has painted us as a predominantly black organization to subtly bolster his argument that King can't bring this city together—because, supposedly, King can get support only from "predominantly black" unions and organizations and cannot muster significant white support. But AFSCME 1489 is not predominantly black, as he claimed. It's more like 40 percent black, 10 percent Hispanic and 50 percent white.

Many white voters in Boston will not vote for a black mayoral candidate, no matter how well qualified. But in 1983, a black pro-working people candidate is closer to the mayor's office than ever. Boston isn't Chicago, but Boston's black community has experienced a mobilization for racial and economic justice around a political candidate that is unprecedented. Massive voter registration has increased the electorate by a whopping 20 percent and propelled King into a virtual three-way tie with Flynn and Finnegan. This is no symbolic campaign.

Yet whites on the left in no small numbers have turned their backs on Mel King, claiming that a black candidate cannot win. This is also true of labor, including some of labor's progressive wing.

This can only be an acquiescence in the idea that people of color are not yet accepted as equals, yet many of these progressives rationalize their non-support for King in the name of "Bringing the races together."

How can you "bring the races together" if at the same time you are advocating that the non-white section of this so-called "alliance" restrain itself

from demanding equal rights and access to all that white citizens enjoy? You can't bring the races together by ignoring inequality. If whites can't accept blacks into Boston's political process as equals, Boston can't come together.

Flynn has stacked up the overwhelming majority of Labor endorsements. Only a few unions have had the courage and wisdom to back King. In addition to AFSCME 1489/BCH Employees, other unions backing King are SEIU 509 (Social Workers), United Steelworkers Local 8751/Boston School Bus Drivers and 1199.

Progressives supporting Flynn herald his solid labor support as testament to his pro-labor stands. To give credit where credit is due, on issues of economic justice, King and Flynn are very similar.

The problem is, this election isn't only about economic justice. It's also about the denial of rights and access to Boston's minority communities and the battle to open Boston to everyone—black, Hispanic and Asian as well as white.

—John C. Ingemi, President  
Melzhu Lul, Treasurer  
AFSCME Local 1489  
Boston City Hospital Employees

## THE GROWTH OF MORALITY

HELP, I'VE BEEN CONSCRIPTED BY the Moral Majority!

My official membership card just arrived, totally unsolicited, together with an epistle from Jerry (or is it "Jeremiah") Falwell. "Here is your official Moral Majority Membership Card," he begins. "I have issued this card to you...because I need dedicated Americans like you on my team..."

I'm flattered, or is it flabbergasted, that Jerry "needs" me on his "team." Since he recognizes me as a "dedicated American," I assume it must be because of my support for the nuclear freeze and ERA, or could it be my "dedication" to economic and social democracy? I wonder.

I'll admit, at first I got all these grandiose ideas about forming a "Progressive/Left Caucus" in the Moral Majority, but on reflection decided to burn my Moral Majority draft card. Thanks, Jerry, but no thanks! I don't want to be on your team anyway.

Now I understand how the New Right can claim such a large following. Who else gives away official membership cards unsolicited.

—State Rep. Tarrel R. Miller  
Freeman, S.D.

## JOLLY NEW GIANT

LESTER RODNEY (*ITT*, SEPT. 21) HAS written a teasing piece on soccer. I don't know how old Mr. Rodney is, but I know we are likely to get our sports loves early in life, so I'm not surprised by his assumption that football will remain forever ahead of soccer in his heart.

But Rodney is right to ask when somebody will give us a good sociologist's view of soccer in America. Something big is happening if we can trust the loosely assembled data of A.C. Nielsen, the American Sporting Goods Dealers Association, the YMCA, the U.S. Soccer Federation and others.

While the USSF registers about one million youth players compared to Little League's two million boys under age 13, the gap closes if you look at the large number of children who are playing organized soccer with USSF membership. Considerably more children are playing soccer than baseball in many urban areas. Not only that, but soccer is still growing significantly at a time when football's roots are losing vigor.

Soccer's growth is visible at the high school and college and club levels. The indoor professional league is doing well. Only the attempt to graft a na-

tional outdoor professional league onto commercial network TV has been a bad experience, and even that has done plenty of good.

How many Americans know how much public money goes to prop up high school and college football. Deficits at many state-financed schools are awesome, and the red ink will flow even thicker if the College Football Association succeeds in breaking free from the NCAA network TV contract. It is fairly common for many Division One schools to drop \$300,000 or much bigger sums on football.

High school football lost 30 percent of its audience during the '70s. Soccer didn't do it. The explosion of network TV did. That audience is gone forever.

So will soccer find its way through this American maze? I think so. While 45-year-old men who like to gamble are quick to ridicule this threat to their identities, the game just keeps on adding devotees in Wichita, Butte, Springfield, Memphis, Jackson, Ocala, Spokane, Savannah, Charleston and at least 100 other American cities. In fact, it is becoming the number one game for all of them at the youth level, and the percolation upward is accelerating.

Given the struggle of the North American Soccer League and the natural sales resistance to a new game (sports is emotion), I suppose this all sounds megalomaniacal. But soccer is about to build on its abundant grassroots into an American giant.

—Bill Sheldon  
Coral Gables, Fla.

## ANTI-ZIONIST JEWS

MORRIS ALEXANDER'S LETTER (*ITT*, Sept. 14) in response to mine asking for a consistent policy on the distinction between the terms "Zionist" and "Jewish" is fallacious and self-righteous in referring to me as an "anti-Semitic, self-hating Jew." It is also dead wrong in rewriting history. Alexander is revising the facts to fit his Zionist perception of both politics and world events.

In a letter it is impossible to explore the history of the Zionist movement. But some facts cannot be refuted:

(1) The Israeli state was created, in great part, through the displacement of indigenous people, the Palestinians, who had been living there for centuries, thus making Israel a settler-colonial state.

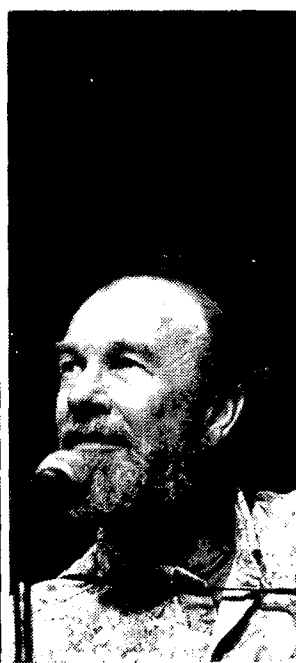
(2) The Israeli Labor socialist government, whose "sanity" Alexander praises, is no less guilty than the Likud in treating Arabic Israeli citizens and Palestinians living in the occupied territories as less than second-class persons. It has also actively promoted military drives to expand Israeli territory.

(3) As documented in great detail in Lenni Brenner's recent book *Zionism in the Age of Dictators* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), the Zionists again and again collaborated with the Nazis and other fascists before and during World War II, both groups sharing the belief that Jews were a separate race and should live only in their own nation. The Zionists essentially abandoned the fight against anti-Semitic immigration laws that existed in virtually all the Western European nations and the U.S., and put Jewish immigration to Palestine above all. These Zionists, not Jews like myself, are to be charged with complicity in the perpetuation of anti-Semitism. Indeed, one of the fundamental assumptions of Zionism is that anti-Semitism is eternal; Herzl himself remarked on several occasions that anti-Semites were the Zionists' best allies because they too agreed on the necessity of a Jewish state—in order to prevent the influx of Eastern European Jews and their "importation of the Jewish problem" to the Western European nations.

Alexander's charge that I am not a "real Jew" is scurrilous. What is his criterion for being a "real Jew"? Is it to hold only one certain set of political beliefs, namely those of Zionism?

—Nancy Krieger  
Seattle

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## DIALOG

# The Rosenberg File is a Cold War fraud

## I

**J**IM WEINSTEIN'S REVIEW (ITT, SEPT. 14) of Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton's *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth* raises many questions. I'll mention only two. Since Weinstein appears in the book, offering testimony that the authors use as supporting evidence that Julius Rosenberg was engaged in Soviet espionage, what are the ethics of reviewing and praising a book in which one has collaborated?

The second question springs from Weinstein's text. He writes that "Radosh and Milton have done the left, and particularly the socialist left of which they are a part, a great service in writing this book—whether their conclusions are right or wrong." (Emphasis added.)

In other words, even if their efforts to plug the holes in the government's case have resulted in once more falsely charging the Rosenbergs with espionage, they have performed a great service to the left!

—A.B. Magil  
Hampton Bays, N.Y.

## II

**A**S A LONG-TIME READER OF *IN THESE TIMES*, I have always been impressed by its providing sorely needed information. The in depth reporting is very important. For the same reason, I've been a regular reader of the *Guardian* over the past 10-plus years.

Between the two they probably hit 35,000 to 120,000 people, certainly not enough to be attacking each other in a sectarian fashion.

Until the September 14 issue of *In These Times*, I've never noticed such attacks. But the article on *The Rosenberg File* by James Weinstein was blatantly sectarian. In less than a sentence Weinstein dismissed a carefully researched article of a couple thousand words as "a sectarian defense of the Rosenbergs." The *Guardian* article of September 7 by Jonathan Bennett meticulously detailed questions and inaccuracies in *The Rosenberg File*. These included:

- Three of the 43 people supposedly interviewed by the authors denied ever being interviewed. (W. Reuben, M. Schneir, B. Brower.)

- Three additional interviewees denied saying what the authors printed as quotes from them. (J. Gates, J. Scales, M. Gordon.)

- Many controversial quotes that "prove" the Rosenbergs' guilt are attributed to anonymous sources.

- The authors claim to have examined the complete Rosenberg file of Fyke Farmer, the appeals lawyer, but Farmer denies having sent anything more than the *habeas corpus* petition.

- The authors' needless decision not to cite the 10-digit FBI serial number that appears on every one of the 250,000 pages released by the FBI. This means that it is virtually impossible to verify the "proof" the authors obtained from the files.

For sure, these questions do not prove that the authors are lying, or that the Rosenbergs are both innocent. But they raise serious questions about the way the information was gathered, and why they broke with so many normal traditions of citing information and why so many people deny what's said about them or "by" them.

It certainly seems suspicious that the authors' primary proof comes from unverified sources, or even from people who say they were misquoted.

But what bothers me even more is:

(1) that Weinstein could do a review of the book, after reading the *Guardian* article of the previous week, and neither comment on nor look into these serious charges; or

(2) dismiss the *Guardian's* meticulous investigation of this book that makes charges and raises questions that have had such an effect on the left in America.

Although it might be naive to think that the government or the right is always in the wrong—it's certainly disconcerting to feel that what I read in *In These Times* mirrors what I read in the *New York Times* and other liberal papers.

—Doug Matthews  
Providence, R.I.

## III

**W**E PROFOUNDLY DISAGREE WITH James Weinstein's conclusion (ITT, Sept. 14) that Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton's book, *The Rosenberg File* "should stand as the definitive word on the case." As historians, we recognize the pitfalls of arriving at a definitive judgment when dealing with political trials, especially when the bulk of the evidence rests on FBI files that have been heavily censored to present the government's case in the best possible light. Radosh and Milton claim to be "objective" historians, but anyone who has followed Radosh's work for the past decade knows that his writing has been ideological and partisan. Much of the book consists of FBI and prosecution witnesses' accounts with little or no evaluation of their accuracy. In fact, what Weinstein calls "this thoroughly and carefully researched book" contains countless misrepresentations of what the files actually reveal. The result is that this work becomes a polemic for the prosecution.

This assertion is based on a close checking of Radosh and Milton's sources—something no one has heretofore undertaken (partly because Radosh and Milton give only partial footnote references, making it extremely difficult and time-consuming for scholars to evaluate their use of evidence). One of us has analyzed one of the central chapters in the book, the one containing some of the most dramatic purported "discoveries." It does not speak to the "objectivity" of the authors that no fewer than one-third of those footnotes contained serious distortions of what the documents said, or omitted crucial information that would lead the reader to a different conclusion than that drawn by Radosh and Milton.

The chapter deals with the prison informer, Eugene Jerome Tartakow, who Radosh and Milton claimed was Julius Rosenberg's confidant in prison and passed to the FBI crucial information about the spy ring. Tartakow is one of the major props in the authors' argument that Julius Rosenberg was a spy. Aside from the problem of accepting the word of a prison informer who was in jail for car theft, and at the same time wanted in Arizona for pimping and narcotics, how accurate was the information he gave to the FBI? Radosh and Milton assert "that while he may have embroidered the facts at times he was able to give the FBI much new and significant information." But Radosh and Milton do not tell their readers that in a 1956 evaluation of Tartakow the Justice Department concluded he was of "unknown reliability" and that "while certain of the information furnished by Tartakow has been corroborated, the majority has not." (Thomas K. Hall, se-

curities Activities Section to William F. Thompkins, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, 11/5/56, Justice Dept. 146-41-15-133)

Radosh tries to overcome the reader's natural skepticism about Rosenberg trusting Tartakow by asserting that Tartakow served as a go-between for Rosenberg and Eugene Dennis who was also in prison. This was necessary, says Radosh, because of Dennis' unwillingness to be seen with Rosenberg. But again, Radosh and Milton keep from the reader the information in the files that proves Rosenberg and Dennis needed no intermediary: In one of Tartakow's reports he remarks, "The only persons with whom Rosenberg is friendly [in prison] included Oscar Vago, Eugene Dennis and Gilbert Russo."

Perhaps the most important allegation in the book is Radosh and Milton's claim that Rosenberg confessed to Tartakow that he and three other members of his spy ring had engaged in a marathon photographing session of secret documents that one of these men, William Perl, had stolen from Columbia's Pupin laboratory. According to Radosh, the FBI rushed to "check out the story" and "rather to their amazement...the story fit the facts." The confirmation, according to Radosh and Milton, was that "the FBI learned Perl had checked out and signed for a huge amount of classified material." But that is not what the document in question says. What the document actually said was that Perl had "received" documents—i.e., had

specifically a NACA (National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics) development "as was another anti-turbulence design which showed up on the MIG a surprisingly short time after the Air Force, with NACA help, had perfected it." (p. 303-4) But Radosh and Milton do not report on a later letter that dismissed these speculations: "NACA, by letter dated March 20, 1951, reported that there is no indication to date that the engineering features on the Soviet MIG are based upon research conducted by NACA. G-2 advised that the files of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2 Intelligence, disclosed nothing to support speculation that data from U.S. research had been incorporated into MIGs. Department of Air Force has no indication that the MIG-15 contains engineering developments originating from U.S. classified research. The Air Force observed that German, rather than U.S. influence, is apparent in the design." (SAC, SF to Dir. FBI, May 8, 1951, Perl HQ, 390, Multiple referral no. 89)

Radosh and Milton acknowledge that Tartakow's secret reports did not lead to any espionage convictions, but they attempt to build up his credibility by claiming "that when it came to keeping his promise that he would be able to infiltrate the Rosenberg camp, he proved as good as his word." (p.314) To support this view they assert that "beginning in October, Jerry Tartakow took over the task of chauffeuring Manny Bloch and the children on their trips to Ossining." But the only reference in the



## Radosh, Milton distort the facts to plug holes in the prosecution's case.

accepted them when they were delivered to the laboratory—as he had on numerous occasions when he was working there. In fact, the Justice Department concluded after an exhaustive investigation—and again, Radosh fails to reveal this exculpatory information to the reader—that "Investigation at Columbia University failed to disclose evidence that Perl removed any classified material at Columbia University." (Ibid.)

To bolster their case against Rosenberg and Perl, Radosh and Milton quote an unnamed "top Air Force expert" that the unusual tail of a Soviet MIG was

files to Tartakow taking the children or Manny Bloch to Sing Sing or anywhere else was in October. He never did go again and in fact there is no evidence that he even saw Bloch after January 1952, 18 months before the execution.

It would appear that it is not the Rosenberg defenders who, as James Weinstein alleges, "are encumbered with an ideological axe to grind" that prevents them from reporting the facts accurately—it is Radosh's own blinders that prevent him from accurately presenting the evidence that is in the documents. The issue here is not one of legitimate differences of interpretation, but of errors and distortions of such an order that they make it impossible to classify the book as the definitive scholarly study it purports to be.

—John M. Cammett, Blanche Wiesen Cook, Gerald E. Markowitz, William Preston Jr., Dennis Sherman, Mike Wallace  
Professors of History, John Jay College, City University of New York



# Attacks on Radosh and Milton are a smokescreen

By James Weinstein

**I**F I HAD WRITTEN A REVIEW without acknowledging the fact that Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton used information I offered them, it would have been unethical. But I was not a collaborator in writing the book; I merely told the authors what little I knew of the case. I never read chapters of the book or contributed in any other way to its writing. Reviewing a book under these circumstances is in no way unethical.

The second of A.B. Magil's questions may be a clue to why he asked the first, for it betrays the same ideological bias that is reflected in the writings of the *Guardian* on this subject and in the communication from the John Jay historians. His assumption obviously is that if Radosh and Milton are wrong, it could not be through honest error. It must be part of a plot in behalf of the government.

I believe that Radosh and Milton reached the correct conclusion about Julius Rosenberg's involvement in spying. And I also believe that they have done a great service to the left, even if subsequent research uncovers evidence that Julius Rosenberg was not involved. I think this, first, because I am confident that the authors researched this book carefully and honestly and, second, because it is important for the left to look at both its past and its present impartially and non-ideologically.

If Julius Rosenberg was involved in espionage for the Soviet Union, and there can be little doubt that he was, it is important to know why. It is important to understand how a deep commitment to the politics of the Communist Party, especially at a time when the Soviet Union and the U.S. were allies in a war against fascism, might lead an individual to do what Rosenberg did.

To know this is to have a clue into the nature of the Cold War and the reasons both for its popular appeal in the late '40s and '50s and its relatively weak appeal today. Because, like all ideology, Cold War

ideology was both a distortion and a reflection of reality.

The distortion was in seeing the Soviet Union as an expansionist power bent on world domination after World War II and in promoting the idea that a threat of successful "subversion" existed in the U.S.

In fact, the Soviets were thoroughly exhausted after the war and occupied Eastern Europe to provide a defensive buffer against the kind of aggression that the Western powers engaged in after World War I, while inside the U.S., the Communist Party and its followers were no more than a minuscule group, with faltering strength in the labor movement and not much more. Certainly, they were not about to seize power for the Soviets.

The reflection of reality was that the Communist Party was first and foremost a political extension of the Soviet Union. It saw the defense of the Soviet state as its primary responsibility. Its program and policies were subject to Soviet approval. Even its leaders were determined by the Soviet leadership in Moscow, as was made clear when Earl Browder was de-

*Most of the claims of distortion or dishonesty are themselves the result of fear to face the truth.*

posed as party leader on a signal from abroad.

Those Americans who knew anything about the Communists were aware of this, which is why it was so easy for the government to paint the American left—the CP and its followers—as foreign agents and potential spies.

Of course, the Party and its members were not spies. There is no evidence that any spies were recruited from its ranks, if for no other reason than that to do so would have been to endanger the Party's status as a legitimate political organiza-

tion. And when, as the case of Julius Rosenberg, Party members decided to gather information for the Russians, they were quickly dropped from Party ranks and ceased engaging in political activity. This happened with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1943, seven years before they were arrested.

But even though the Soviet Union kept its espionage separate from its political arm in the U.S., the American Party's slavish adherence to Soviet policy made it suspect in most people's eyes, which made the task of American Cold Warriors a lot easier than it would have been if the left in the U.S. had been genuinely independent and as honest in its criticism of the Soviets as it was of the American government.

And that is why, incidentally, the attempts to revive the Cold War have done so poorly with the majority of Americans today. For unlike the '40s and '50s, when the socialist left in the U.S. was dominated by the Communist Party, the left today is diverse, and the Communist Party is an ever less important part of it. In general, today's left is capable of looking not only at the Soviet Union, but at all of the nominally socialist countries with critical distance.

## II

I have to admit that I had not seen the September 7 article by Jonathan Bennett in the *Guardian* when I wrote my review. My reference to the *Guardian*'s sectarianism was aimed at its editorial of September 21. I hadn't seen that either, but I knew it was coming.

But the September 7 piece, far from being "meticulously detailed," is—in the words of the *Guardian*'s September 21 editorial—part of "a fight over a strategic piece of ideological territory."

First, the *Guardian* calls the book "an elaborate fraud" and questions the motives of Radosh and Milton in writing it. Then it details a series of charges most of which are either untrue or matters of opinion or interpretation. Finally, the article makes no attempt to assess the significance of the alleged errors or falsifications in the overall context of evidence presented in the book. Even if all the charges by Bennett were true, would this invalidate Radosh and Milton's conclusions? Bennett doesn't say. In my opinion it would not. But the implication, of course, is that it would. Otherwise why the charge of fraud?

Specifics:

- All three of those who denied being interviewed were talked to. Brower, who was talked to by both Radosh and Sol Stern, sued after their article on the case appeared in the *New Republic*. She claimed then that she had never talked to them. The case was thrown out of court. Stern also interviewed William Reuben and Miriam Schneir at length.

- Of the three additional interviewees, Scales has since confirmed the substance of the quotations attributed to him in a letter to the *New York Times Book Review* (September 18) and Gates told Sam

Roberts of the *New York Times* (September 23) essentially what he told Radosh. Gordon does maintain that Radosh misconstrued what he said, but at worst that is a matter of interpretation.

- Attribution to anonymous sources is not unethical or unprofessional, nor is it evidence of error, much less fraud.

- Farmer forgot sending copies of his correspondence, but Radosh has the copies in his possession.

- The citation of serial numbers might have made it easier to check Radosh's use of the FBI files, but his citations are sufficient to identify the documents and no one has claimed otherwise.

## III

No historian is objective. Every one of us writes with a point of view, and the clearer the point of view is, generally, the better the historian. It is only when an historian writes from a point of view but denies it or covers it over that something dishonest may be going on.

Thus, the John Jay historians' attack on Radosh for being ideological and partisan is suspect at best. What is the nature of Radosh's ideology and partisanship? They do not tell us. And are they not also ideological and partisan? And what is the nature of their ideology and partisanship? They don't tell us that either.

But they do admit that only one of the six of them did the research for their critique, yet all six signed. Why? Do they, sight unseen, have so much respect for the unnamed one's month or two of checking that it overwhelms the five years of research conducted by Radosh, Stern and Milton? Or are they the ones being ideological?

On the specifics: it is not possible for me to evaluate each of the historians' criticisms of the book. But most of these points have been responded to in exchanges in the *New York Times Book Review* (September 18), the *New York Review of Books* (September 30) or in an upcoming issue of *New York* magazine.

In any historical writing there are always possibilities for differing interpretations of documents, and also for selective use of documents. Normally, one assumes that such differences of interpretation are honestly held and arrived at. The John Jay historians have apparently decided a priori that this is not the case with *The Rosenberg File*, but I don't find their argument convincing, especially in the light of what I can comment on knowledgeably.

Two examples: first, the historians made a big point of the William Perl section, but they neglect to tell us Radosh and Milton's conclusion—which is that the evidence against Perl is too contradictory to allow for an opinion on his involvement one way or the other. Second, they go to great length to discount the testimony of Jerome Tartakow, and then, when it suits their purpose, who do they call upon as a witness? Surprise! Jerome Tartakow. I suppose that is their idea of objective methodology. ■

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# LIFE IN THE U.S.

## ASTRONOMY Earthly problems

By Britton Bloom

KITT PEAK, ARIZ.

After a quarter century of searching the skies, the Kitt Peak National Observatory has run up against a very earth-bound problem: money.

Kitt Peak celebrates its 25th anniversary this year in the middle of an economic crisis that threatens the future of astronomy.

On the surface, Kitt Peak is a flourishing, vital hub of astronomical activity—one of the largest centers of astronomy in the world. Scientists from all

over the world visit this peak in the southwestern desert to study the skies and new designs for advanced telescopes are developed and built by Kitt Peak technicians.

But for Dr. Geoffrey Burbidge, director of Kitt Peak, other concerns—such as running the observatory and securing funds in an uncertain economy—bring ominous signs that trouble may lie ahead. Recently his job has become a matter of deciding what to do without.

Since 1980, Kitt Peak's budget has been trimmed by 25 percent, and the observatory has lost 20 percent of its personnel. Two of the observatory's telescopes have

been shut down to save money.

As difficult as it may be to dismiss personnel, it is perhaps more disturbing not to be able to hire new people.

Post doctoral scientists— young people fresh out of the universities with a Ph.D. in hand and new ideas in mind—are at the peak of their creative careers. But if these "post-docs" can't find a position in an observatory they can become discouraged and turn to jobs in fields unrelated to science, Burbidge said.

Part of the problem lies in the "technological inflation" inherent in modern science, he explained. Scientists need ever-increasingly expensive equipment

to do the research that results in new discoveries.

"It used to be you could go on the mountain to observe the stars and do the measurements yourself," he said. "Now you need sensing equipment, interpretive equipment and people to assist you."

All that complicated hardware costs money, and funds spent on equipment cannot be used to hire the young post-docs who will be the astronomers of the future.

"By the end of the century we're going to have observatories full of big machines and old professors, but no young people," Burbidge said.

The erosion of federal funds

IN THESE TIMES OCTOBER 12-18, 1983 13 cannot be blamed solely on Reagan administration priorities. Funds for science have been dwindling for the last decade through the administrations of several presidents.

At the heart of financial cutbacks is a decline in public support for the sciences and a lack of understanding of exactly what science is about.

People are caught up in the "cancer-cure syndrome," Burbidge feels. Everyone wants big, spectacular results that have an immediate impact.

But science does not work that way. Most scientists work at refining very tiny details, and a "discovery" is often an esoteric point that is meaningless in itself. Only when many tiny details are taken as a whole can a new, exciting picture emerge. The general public has little patience for the astronomers who have spent their careers charting the wobble in the orbit of Mercury, even though that wobble is now providing new insights into Newtonian physics and revolutionizing the modern concept of matter and gravity.

At present, the U.S. has a vigorous scientific community that is second to none in many fields, and certainly equal to the best in other areas, Burbidge said. But in the long term, the budget cutbacks are acting to inhibit research, to put a lid on expansion, and without expansion decay sets in.

Kitt Peak, along with most U.S. scientific facilities, receives funds from the National Science Foundation (NSF), an agency founded by Congress in 1950 to disseminate funds for scientific research. Currently the NSF distributes approximately \$1 billion to universities, laboratories and observatories across the U.S.

The NSF simply doesn't have the clout in the government to get more money. As Burbidge noted, "The \$1 billion budget of the NSF is small potatoes compared to the \$200 billion spent by the Department of Defense."

## DISCUSSIONS

**Orchestra of the Eighth Day:** *Music for the End* (Flying Fish)

The "end" alluded to here could—and probably does—refer to nuclear apocalypse as well as the last gasp of a love affair. But this orchestral work, performed by a two-man avant-garde ensemble from Poland, is also a chronicle of their nation's frustrated history—thus applying a very specific meaning from recent history to the title. "It was born in a time of great emotion," composer Jan Kaczmarek told *In These Times*, choosing his words very carefully, "both personal and what was going on in our country."

Drawing on folk tunes, funeral marches, American jazz, Wagner and the looming spirit of Polish romanticism, *Music for the End* travels a winding musical path from the lovely pastoral passage that marks its beginning to the shrill air raid siren that ends the piece. A wide range of musical moods are reached by means of Grzegorz Banaszak's deft mastery of the acoustic guitar and Kaczmarek's wild experimentation on an antique German instrument, similar to a zither, known as a Fisher's fidola. He gently strums it, excitedly pounds it and waves it through the air

—evoking sounds resembling everything from Catholic church music to punk rock.

The ensemble began as accompanists for an avant-garde theater group in Poland and then moved on to become a popular attraction at both the state-run music festivals and privately operated cabarets. In 1981 they journeyed to Michigan for a theater festival and then stopped off for several months in Chicago, where this album was recorded, before returning to Poland.

—J.W.

**Grupo Mancotal:** *Un Son para mi Pueblo* (Paredon)

I'd have to recommend this album of Nicaraguan music even if it had been waxed by the musical corps of Somoza's national guard. But fortunately it wasn't (and probably never could have been, considering the exuberant group spirit displayed here as well as the record's roots in salsa, calypso and other peasant musical traditions not acceptable to the old regime in Managua). The group was assembled by Luis Mejia Godoy of the Sandinista Ministry of Culture, who has brought together both pop and classical players as well as folklorists to offer musical support for the revolution's ongoing ef-

forts. But unlike a lot of music coming directly out of political movements, this diverse set of songs could hold their own on any jukebox in any tavern in any Hispanic neighborhood in any U.S. city.

The album is a lively hodgepodge of jazz, rock, dance music and regional folk styles, drawn from all over Latin America. There are even echoes of classical influence in the exceedingly well crafted arrangements. In translation the lyrics seem a little strained (there are two odes to corn, written in the wake of a loan cut-off by the U.S. that was to have gone for wheat purchases), but the impassioned vocals add new layers of meaning.

—J.W.

**Zapp:** *Zapp III* (Warner Bros.)

Perhaps no one is more aware of the old saying "History repeats itself" than black musicians. Four generations of middle-class kids have shook, swayed and sashayed to the pulse of black music—black music played mainly by whites. And the story's still the same. Funk music, a high-tech offshoot of soul music pioneered by black bands such as Parliament in the early '70s, is now making a dent on the record charts. And guess what—a funky

UN SON PARA MI PUEBLO



album lands David Bowie on the cover of *Time*, while Zapp remains unheralded despite more than a million record sales.

A 10-piece outfit from Dayton, Ohio, with knock-your-socks-off rhythms, Zapp harnesses the energy of new musical technology without sacrificing passion or playfulness. A relentless beat, mesmerizing arrangements and gutsy vocals add up to a sound that sticks in your mind like Juicy Fruit. There is a schmaltzy love ballad here and a lame jazz-rock concoction, but the haunting, masochistic "Heartbreaker" and ultra-dynamic "Play Some Blues" more than compensate. Not to mention "Got to Have the Buck"—a riveting account of recession-era life told in the straightforward language of street-corners and alleyways.

—J.W.

**R.E.M.:** *Murmur* (IRS Records)

Mystery, promise and an irresistible melodicism fuel this first

full album by R.E.M., the Athens, Ga., quartet named after the acronym with the double meaning: Rapid Eye Movement and Roentgen Equivalent Man.

Generous in length, liberatingly creative, *Murmur* signals the arrival of an American band equal in warmth and creativity to such European groups as the Pretenders and U2.

After several listenings, it's possible to discern at least most of what singer Michael Stipe is saying. But the music hits you immediately, as you realize that what's being said isn't as important as how it's said.

They sound distantly like the Byrds, and the lyrics deal with transition and liberation (the beautiful yawp of "Radio Free Europe," the childlike "Catalpa" and the psychological call of "Pilgrimage." And although all the tunes but "Perfect Circle" are up-tempo, there's a stillness to all R.E.M. music (including last year's *Chronic Town*) that makes it balanced and complete.

The music of *Murmur* is as alluring and compelling as its title, warranting the buzz that's spreading about this group. R.E.M. taps into our dreams to illuminate our hopes. As one of their song titles says, they talk about the passion. *Murmur* allows us to listen to it.

C.W.

Contributors: Jay Walljasper, Carlo Wolff



**Memory Babe: A Critical Biography of Jack Kerouac**  
By Gerald Nicosia  
Grove Press, 767 pp., \$22.50

By David Corn

On Oct. 20, 1969, Jack Kerouac sat down in front of a television set in his concrete block house in St. Petersburg, Fla., to plan a new novel.

He didn't get too far. He began to vomit and hemorrhage. Kerouac was rushed to the hospital and the next day, after 26 blood transfusions, he died of abdominal hemorrhaging.

It was the death of an adventurer who had lost all zest for life, of a literary legend who had run away from the exploits of his past, of an advocate of tolerance and racial equality who had become a narrow-minded racist and of the writer who had defined the Beat Generation and ended up an alcoholic mama's boy, rotting in suburbia.

Now, 14 years later, the Beat Generation is long gone, trampled in the chaos of the '60s. But the Kerouac mystique remains. He was one of those writers

whose image transcends the literature he produced. After the publication of *On the Road* in 1957, he became not only a best-selling author, but a symbol. Some hailed Kerouac as the spokesman for a new Lost Generation. Others, in the words of Norman Podhoretz, saw Kerouac as the leader of "know-nothing Bohemians" who feared any kind of rationality. (The *Jack Parr Show* presented a parody of Kerouac in a sloppy sweater, lighting cigarettes and repeating the word "nothin'.")

Despite chidings from the literary establishment, Kerouac has become one of the most influential and widely read novelists since World War II. He was a spiritual godfather to the '60s rebels (a role he denied with vehemence) and sales of *On the Road* are still high among college students.

But if we are not left with a clear indication of what Kerouac stood for, part of the fault lies with Kerouac, who himself was confused as to what the Beat Generation meant. He was always redefining "beat." At first, it meant self-flagellation. Then

he used it to describe the hip "fallen angels" of the William Burroughs and Allen Ginsberg variety. He then refined it to mean a "weariness with all the forms, all the conventions." Finally, he said it stood for beatific.

In the late '40s and '50s, with the Cold War raging and McCarthyism flowering, the Beats, for the most part, were not interested in political protests, per se. Instead they offered a cultural protest against the stifling atmosphere of post-war America and the rise of a pro-corporate, Organization Man ethic.

Kerouac, Nicosia writes, dreaded the development of "a nation that prizes efficiency above the people who produce it." He and his Beat allies wanted to strike at the standard notion of "respectability," as well as the suffocating sexual mores of the day. They could not tolerate the blandness they saw infesting much of American life. As Kerouac wrote in *On the Road*, "The only people for me are the mad ones, the ones who are mad to live...."

That one line—one of Kerouac's most famous—does not sound like it was written by a man who was constantly running back to his mother's embrace or to the small-town world of Lowell, Mass., where Kerouac grew up. But as Nicosia illustrates, Kerouac was not a natural rebel. *Memory Babe* is a portrait of a man who was the prisoner of tensions he could not reconcile. Kerouac wanted "kicks," but also wanted a quiet domestic life, with mother and wife at his side. He desired both fame and solitude. He called himself a Buddhist, but could never escape the pull of Catholicism. He advocated a free-wheeling approach to sex (with men as the prime beneficiaries) and unconventional lifestyles, but still idolized small-town America and its morals. In

INPRINT

## JACK KEROUAC

# On the road to fame and ruin



The newly famous novelist in 1958 (left) and the embittered alcoholic in 1966 (above).

his writing, he often set up a dichotomy between town and city, with the former representing the quintessential goodness of the U.S. and the latter the uncaring hardness. He had a foot in each, but didn't fit in either place.

Born in Lowell in 1922 to Leo and Gabrielle Kerouac, French Canadians whose families had emigrated to New England from Quebec, Jean Louis Lebris de Kerouac was the youngest of three. Leo was a job printer who drifted between jobs and displayed a penchant for drinking and gambling. Gabrielle kept house.

As a youth, Kerouac displayed both literary talent, writing and illustrating his own books, and athletic prowess, starring on the Lowell High School football team. His football ability won him a scholarship to Columbia University, but his athletic career was cut short by a broken leg, and he dropped out.

During World War II he enlisted in the Navy, but was discharged on psychiatric grounds. In 1944 he returned to the environs of Columbia and met Burroughs and Ginsberg. From 1947 to 1950 he traveled the road with Neal Cassady and a host of other characters, and in 1950 his first

novel, the Thomas Wolfean *The Town and the City*, was published and received some acclaim.

Kerouac wrote 12 more books over the next seven years but none were published. During this time he traveled across the country (at a moment's notice), helping spur the San Francisco literary renaissance, fighting with publishers and working sporadically at different jobs, including stints as a railroad brakeman and a forest fire-watcher.

In 1957, *On the Road*, written several years earlier, was finally published. He was suddenly a star. His drinking increased and he earned a reputation as a buffoon on the mainstream literary social circuit. Kerouac was an uneasy celebrity.

Nicosia's in-depth portrayal often concentrates on how Kerouac coped (or, usually, failed to cope) with the contradictions that plagued him. Despite Nicosia's admiration for Kerouac and enthusiasm for his art, a portrait emerges of a sad man. Often victimized by critics who failed to understand his work, by New York intellectuals who looked down upon him as a hick writer and by an over-dominating mother who conducted his Oedipal complex like a maestro, he, in turn, caused much pain for others. He refused to support his daughter or even to acknowledge his responsibility for her. He treated women as secondary, intellectually irrelevant beings. His friendships, particularly the most famous one with Neal Cassady, were meteoric. As his drinking problem worsened (which corresponded with his success), he became a burden on the friends he hadn't already alienated.

In his own peculiar manner (politically Kerouac was hardly sophisticated), he defended McCarthy, and he often decried the "Commie Jews" who were out to get him. Yet he also denounced what he saw as the emergence of a police state in the U.S.

Throughout *Memory Babe*, Nicosia underplays Kerouac's negative side, though this becomes increasingly more difficult when writing about his last years. He even defends some of Kerouac's ugly quirks. For example, Nicosia claims that Kerouac's defense of Joe McCarthy arose out of his noble sense of compassion—he simply felt sorry for the Senator. But one incident Nicosia cannot explain is when Kerouac (with his nephew) in 1962 burnt a cross near a black neighborhood in Orlando, Fla.

As portrayed in this book, *Continued on page 15*



Jerome Yulsman

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Beth Maschinot**.

### NEW YORK, N.Y.

#### October 2-15

The Fourth Wall Repertory opens a new year of political theater with *The Garbage of Eden*, political cabaret; *Toto and the Wizard of Wall Street*, kids' rock musical; *Freedom Ain't No Bowl of Cherries*, musical comedy; *Music Alive!* rock with community jam. Truck and Warehouse Theater, 79 E. 4th St. For info: (212) 254-5060.

#### October 11-November 18

The third New York City Labor Film Festival showcasing acclaimed labor

films and new productions. Screenings are 7:45 p.m. Tuesdays and Fridays at the NYU Main Building, 100 Washington Square East, Room 703. Admission is free. Film schedule: Oct. 11—*Labor's Turning Point*; Oct. 14—*Temiscaming, Quebec*; Oct. 18—*Memorial Day Massacre of 1937, Margaret, Beating and the Union Busters*; Oct. 21—*Blow for Blow*; Oct. 25—*We Are One, The Sewing Woman* (at ILGWU Archives, 275 7th Ave.); Oct. 28—*Native Land*; Nov. 1—*Poletown Lives!*; Nov. 4—*Men and Dust, Our Health Is Not for Sale, Mass Transit Street Theatre*. For more info, call the Center for Labor Studies 279-7380 or the NYC Labor Hotline 533-6515.

#### October 21

Benefit for three UAW officials who face a \$4.2 million libel suit for news articles in which they described abusive conduct by their foremen. The suit is financed by American Motors. The benefit is a cocktail party/disco

at Rincon Taino, 113 E. 12th. Cocktails: 6:00 p.m., Disco: 9:00 p.m. Featuring four d.j.s and North Knight Street Breakdancers. Admission: \$10.

### CHICAGO, ILL.

#### October 14

Benefit for three UAW officials who face a \$4.2 million libel suit for news articles in which they described abusive conduct by their foremen. The suit is financed by American Motors. The benefit is a showing of "Council Wars" starring Aaron Freeman, bluesplayers Erwin Helfer and Angela Brown, and the Partisans, a comedy troupe. Crosscurrents, 3204 N. Wilton. 8:00 p.m. Admission \$10. For info: (312) 247-8036.

#### October 18

Guillermo Ungo, president of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) of El Salvador, will speak at 7:30 p.m. in People's Church, 941 W. Lawrence. Donation: \$2.50 minimum, \$5.00 contributing. For more information, call (312) 871-7700. Sponsored by Democratic Socialists of America.

### OCTOBER 20

Fred Small in Concert. 8:00 p.m. at St. Paul's Church, 2335 N. Orchard. Sponsored by Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. \$4 in advance, \$5 at the door. (312) 922-2423.

### DETROIT, M.I.

#### October 13-15

The Fifth Annual North American Labor History Conference at the McGregor Conference Center, Wayne State University, brings together scholars, students and union activists who will discuss such themes as de-industrialization, the Afro-American experience, the Communist Party and anti-labor repression. For information, call John Bukowczyk, (313) 577-2525.

### BERKELEY, CA

#### October 21-23

Lift Every Voice for Civil Rights—1963-1983. 4th Meiklejohn Institute Symposium Weekend featuring Hon. John Conyers, Anne Braden, Myles

Horton, C.B. King, Aileen Hernandez, Ann Fagan Ginger and 60 panelists. 10/21: Friday Night Concert starring Len Chandler at 8 p.m., West Campus Auditorium, 1222 University Ave., Berkeley. \$8 at door. 10/22: Sat. Symposium at Laney College Forum Bldg., 990 Fallon St., Oakland, 8:30-5:30. \$5. 10/22: Sat. Night Banquet, 6:30 p.m., Oakland Hyatt Regency. \$25. 10/23: Sun. Matinee Film Show featuring *Fundi*, documentaries on SNCC, 2-5 p.m., La Pena, 2105 Shattuck, Berkeley. \$5. For more information and tickets, call Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, (415) 848-0599; Box 673, Berkeley, CA 94701.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

#### October 25

"Liberation Theology Lectures." The first of a series of three lectures, with Gustavo Gutierrez, a leading Latin American theologian and author of *A Theology of Liberation*. Other lecturers in the series are Carter Heyward and James Cone. Call The Washington School at 234-9382 for ticket information. Hall of Nations, Georgetown University, 8:00 p.m.



# Lebanon

Continued from page 9

making sure that the partition of Lebanon proceeds apace.

Is this explanation correct? Wait and see. Lying around for years, this explanation has proved useful at every turn.

So why do mainstream journalists refuse to have anything to do with it? One guess: they would not be invited back to dinner by the official and "authoritative" sources that feed them their regular stories. Another guess: spilling these particular beans could be construed as harmful to Israel. These are no doubt real risks, although Israel is so much stronger and smarter than any other state in the region that the only real harm that can come to it at this point is the harm it does itself.

But there is also the risk to any semblance of democracy when the media rush from surprise to surprise, never trying to figure out what is being done, making it easy for governments—starting with the U.S. government—to keep deceiving the public about what they are doing in the world.

# Kerouac

Continued from page 14

Kerouac is not an easy man to like, not nearly as affable as his fictitious alter egos.

Since this is a "critical biography," Nicosia spends much time engaged in weighty analysis of Kerouac's writing. The biographical narrative bogs down each time it hits a discussion of, say, the key words in this novel or the significant colors in that novel. Furthermore, Nicosia's literary analysis contains elements

of boosterism, as Nicosia goes so far as to equate Kerouac's creative productivity to that of Shakespeare. Kerouac indeed deserves credit for his attempts to chart new literary waters. His prose could—and often did—sing. He was sometimes insightful and even prophetic, as when he predicted the "rucksack revolution, the oncoming of hippiedom—in *The Dharma Bums*, published in 1958. And his writing style and selection of subject matter had a liberating influence on American fiction. But he did have strikeouts as well as hits.

As biography, however, *Memory Babe* succeeds. The book is comprehensive. Nicosia has interviewed practically all the surviving key participants and has had access to many of Kerouac's letters.

But the big question—what went wrong?—is never answered. Most likely it cannot be. Who was the real Kerouac? The Sal Paradise of *On the Road* or the suburban, overweight drunk who could never find his way back to Lowell? Of course, he was both. Above, all to use an overworked phrase, he was an American tragedy, embodying many of the contradictions of American society. From Thomas Wolfe he inherited the overly romantic notion of America as poem, and he set out to capture the country's poetic quality, which he saw—in grandiose fashion—as intertwined with his own personal saga.

Deep in his heart, Kerouac always wanted to be the All-American Boy. Handsome and rugged in appearance, he had the looks. But then, as now, one could not be all-American and, at the same time, smoke dope, champion free sex (with men and women), eschew steady employment, drink wine with street bums, search for existential excitement in black neighborhoods, experiment with different lifestyles, challenge standard tenets of society and pioneer a radical new style in American fiction. Kerouac learned this the hard way.

David Corn is an associate editor of *Nuclear Times*.

# Big Chill

Continued from page 16

star worries about whether his *Magnum P.I.*-like program is meaningful).

The film even makes you wonder if that isn't all that ever really troubled them at heart. For these "kids"—some of them have their own children, but they all act like would-be Peter Pans—the '60s were a tool of their own self-expression. The TV star says he wants the past back because "I was at my best when I was with you people."

In the entire weekend, they never have a political discussion, never refer to current events, never discuss the content of their jobs or evince a shred of familiarity with any of the issues of the '60s, except to recall how cute or charismatic they all once were. No one even makes a joke out of the fact that the girls cook and clean while the boys watch football (although the camera's eye sees the irony). Post-feminism presumably brings with it blindness.

## Too many expectations.

They may natter a lot about lost ideals, but no one articulates any. At one point the straight ad-man that the housewife married (for security) says he doesn't understand the group. "Nobody said it [life] was gonna be fun," he says, "at least not to me."

Someone clearly made that promise to the others. Maybe that's what they mean about having "too many expectations."

These are not the kids of *Alice's Restaurant*, entrepreneurs carving out a lifestyle instead of a life; or the idealists of *Jonah Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000*, putting principles in practice and testing their weaknesses. They're not even people who, like the "Secaucus Seven," participated in some notable hijinks together. What they did together

was to go to college at a time that encouraged them to take their parents' promises of "You can be anything" quite literally.

To its credit, the movie lets us in on this perception, through the character of Nick, the Vietnam vet (William Hurt). Nick is the stubborn non-professional of the bunch, the dope dealer who finds a soulmate in Alex's young girlfriend (Meg Tilly). They are both cynics—an attitude the movie posits as the only alternative to blind acceptance of privilege. And they find the group's breast-beating irritating.

"Nobody ever had a cushier berth," Nick tells the group with chip-on-the-shoulder hostility.

## The personal is commercial.

The style of *The Big Chill* may, as Kasdan claims, be personal, but it might as well be commercial. This movie, like the people in it, has white-bread aspirations. The whole thing has the close-up fake intimacy of TV. The lines are arch, almost waiting for a laugh-track.

But this resolutely ordinary storytelling style does go well with the militantly mainstream characters in the group. In fact, the actors and actresses do a remarkable job at creating convincing characters of their kind. They make these characters' pretensions as real as anything you might find at a week-night encounter group, except that their lines are punchier.

*The Big Chill* is an honest film in its way, revelatory if not self-critical. It shows a group of people who are uninspired but not evil, and even kindly in the one-to-one missionary way that their parents taught them before they ever heard about co-ops and revolution. And it shows how little impact the attitudes, the ideas and the contact with other social groups and classes that surfaced in the '60s had on these people. Now that they've assumed their own mortgages, they can't quite remember what all the fuss was about. They just miss the fun.

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# The Way They Were



For the successful "kids" of the movie *The Big Chill*, the '60s were a wild party where everything seemed possible. And they're still suffering the aftereffects.



## By Pat Aufderheide

Maybe the most damning thing you can say about *The Big Chill*, an upscale (and unacknowledged) remake of John Sayle's *The Return of the Secaucus Seven*, comes from the director himself. Lawrence Kasdan says proudly in the press information, "I've been able to make a very personal film, an unusual thing in Hollywood, and I've been able to do it with total creative freedom."

Kasdan—a "child of the '60s" by virtue of spending 1966-72 at the University of Michigan and writer of *Raiders of the Lost Ark* and *The Empire Strikes Back* who made his directorial debut with *Body Heat*—has made the movie he wanted to about his generation. (He also co-wrote the script.) The result is pedestrian—a devastating comment on his experience and that of his college cohorts. While this movie may not be about your '60s (and '80s) or about mine, it is accurate as far as it goes—straight to the heart of the white professional class.

The plot structure is familiar and simple. Eight baby-boom college buddies get together for a weekend and reminisce about their youthful idealism, assessing the state of their consciences and bank balances. They cook, eat, play group sports and sleep together before catching planes out on Monday morning. Unlike

*Secaucus Seven*, this movie focuses on the well-to-do. Everyone here unabashedly clears more than \$40,000 a year; the professions represented include a corporate lawyer and a doctor (both women), a businessman, a TV star and a famous journalist.

They have all come together in the southern comfort of the businessman's mansion (he runs an athletic shoe store called, with the topical coyness that the movie specializes in, "Running Dog"), because Alex, a member of their crowd, just killed himself.

His death takes them aback—they see him as the only one of them who never "sold out." Apparently hanging out on the margins of bourgeois success just got to be too much for him. But never does anyone question the neat dichotomy of aimlessness on the margins of or ruthless participation in the mainstream of American professional life. Those seem the only two choices for them. Instead they indulge in orgies of self-pity around food; and they diddle and conspire until everyone is more or less indulged sexually. These are the true experts in modern consumer culture—they even know how to turn soul-searching into a consumption ritual.

They spend the whole movie enclosed on the grounds and rooms of the mansion (the kitchen, to give one example of the lifestyle we're talking about, has one of



those Mr. Coffees you can program to activate before you get up in the morning). The setting is so isolated as to make any Agatha Christie novel look positively agoraphobic. And in that world—intruded on only briefly by a representative of the local community, a cop—they practice Dr. Feelgood politics with each other.

The kids who once resonated with Flakey Foont's phrase, "But what's it all about, Mr. Natural?" now turn to each other for the answer. "I was OK, you were OK," is the tenor of their refrains.

Oh, they are vaguely guilty about being so comfortable (let's say it for them, *rich*). But they are more resentful than guilty. Once they were pals together in a golden world where anything seemed possible and doing good looked easy.

But life tricked them. Over and over again they announce to each other that it's a cold, cruel world out there, and that life is, gee, tough!

The lawyer (Mary Kay Place) recounts how shocked she was to find out her legal aid clients were not only guilty but stupid. When *People* magazine jour-

nalist Jeff Goldblum asks her if she thought her clients were going to be Grumpy and Sneezzy, TV star Tom Berenger says knowingly, "No, Huey and Bobby." When the fantasy failed to come true, the lawyer signed up with a high-class law firm.

These are people who passed through the '60s, savoring its flavor without changing any of their fundamental values. They didn't have to—there were niches waiting for them to slide into, once they sobered up from their college years. All that troubles them is personal happiness and *noblesse oblige* (the TV

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